GRAMMATICAL VARIATION AND CHANGE IN SPOKEN ONTARIO FRENCH: THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD AND THE EXPRESSION OF FUTURE TEMPORAL REFERENCE

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Abstract

This dissertation examines grammatical variation and change in spoken Ontario French, a minority language in a largely English-speaking province of Canada. The data are drawn from two sociolinguistic corpora for French spoken in four francophone communities – Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke. The first corpus was constructed in 1978 and the second in 2005; both comprise interviews with speakers residing in the same four communities. The 28-year period separating the corpora provides an opportunity to trace the trajectory of variation and change.

The empirical chapters provide a detailed investigation of two aspects of French grammar: the variable use of the subjunctive mood and the expression of future temporal reference. The analyses of both morphosyntactic variables are carried out within the variationist sociolinguistic framework introduced by William Labov. In terms of conditioning factors, particular emphasis is placed on the influence that varying degrees of restriction in the use of French has on variable usage.

The findings for mood choice show that as language restriction intensifies, use of the subjunctive mood decreases. This is in large part due to a gradual reduction in use of the verb *falloir*, the most important conditioning context for the subjunctive, to the benefit of *devoir*, a more formal semantic equivalent. The rise of the latter at the expense of the former suggests a change in certain communities.

A second variable showing evidence of change concerns the expression of future temporal reference. Use of the inflected future decreases over time, but only for speakers exhibiting mid to high levels of language restriction. Loss of this variant results from a rise in use of the periphrastic future in negative contexts, the privileged domain of the inflected variant in many spoken French varieties. For both variables examined here, reduction in verbal morphology can be ascribed to the progressive loss of or breakdown in the conditioning contexts most favourable to its maintenance.

The present study contributes not only to our understanding of grammatical variation and change in Canadian varieties of French, but also to the growth of research on language variation and change in minority languages.

Dedication

To my family

Acknowledgments

Most anyone who has completed a Ph.D. will tell you that undertaking a doctorate is not as much an experience as it is a journey. Like any journey, mine was guided and supported by a number of important people who deserve my heartfelt thanks.

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
COND	conditional
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperfect
IND	indicative mood
INF	infinitive
NOM	nominative
PF	periphrastic future
PL	plural
PLP	pluperfect
PPART	past participle
PRES	present tense
PST	past
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive mood

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Over the course of several centuries, most varieties of spoken French have undergone important changes in the area of morphosyntax. This is particularly the case with regard to the tense, mood and aspect system, where complex verbal morphology is either in decline or has been lost altogether. One example which illustrates such loss is the conjugation of the present indicative. The once obligatory six-way person/number distinctions marked on the verb have receded to the point that in most varieties of contemporary French there are only two distinctions, the second person plural *vous parl-ez* 'you speak' versus all other persons *je* / *tu* / *il, elle* / *on* / *ils, elles* *parl-Ø* 'I / you / he, she / we / they speak(s)', for which the inflectional endings are phonetically null (Harris 1978). As a consequence of this erosion, distinctions for person and number are expressed by overt subject pronouns. This contrasts with Romance languages like Spanish and Italian which have preserved the six-way distinction.

The subjunctive mood represents a potential case of erosion in the French language. With respect to *le français populaire* in early 20th-century France, linguistic commentators such as Bauche (1928) documented use of the indicative in contexts where grammarians would prescribe the subjunctive:

> *Je veux qu'il vient* $_{\text{IND (SUBJ: VIENNE)}}$. (ex. from Bauche 1928: 123)
> 'I want him to come.'

Cohen (1966) has argued that non-selection of the subjunctive is a feature of regional varieties of French, for instance, use of the conditional rather than the subjunctive in the French spoken in Fressines, Poitou-Charentes:

Il faudrait que j'irais COND (SUBJ: AILLE) *demain au marché.* (ex. from Cohen 1966: 88)
'I would have to go to the market tomorrow.'

Cohen does not, however, suggest that the subjunctive mood itself is undergoing loss: "Le subjonctif présent appartient à tout le monde; les enfants l'emploient de bonne heure, avant d'aller à l'école" (Cohen 1966: 87–88).[1] Similarly, Blanche-Benveniste (2006) reports that in the GARS corpus (Groupe Aixois de Recherches en Syntaxe) of contemporary spoken French in France, the subjunctive mood does not appear to be in decline. Cohen's and Blanche-Benveniste's view with respect to the relative vitality of the subjunctive differs from that of some grammarians, such as Foulet (1965: 205), who hold that the subjunctive is disappearing: "Le subjonctif [...] est de moins en moins fréquent dans la langue courante (dont il ne saurait du reste disparaître complètement)".[2]

While the vitality of the French subjunctive is the subject of ongoing debate, other cases of loss in French seem more clear-cut. For instance, there is ample historical evidence to show that the inflected future (e.g., *il partira*, 'he will leave') has been in decline since around the 15th century (Fleischman 1982). Since that time, a number of periphrastic constructions have emerged in the language which can express future time. Gougenheim (1971) discusses a number of these constructions, such as *être pour* (e.g., *Elle est pour partir*, 'She is about to leave'), *vouloir* (e.g., *le train veut partir*, 'the train wants to leave', ex. from Bauche 1928: 120), *devoir* (e.g., *Elle doit partir*, 'She has to leave') and *aller* (e.g., *Elle va partir*, 'She is going to leave'). Of the range of periphrastic constructions used to express futurity, the periphrastic future which takes *aller* 'to go' as its auxiliary is the most frequent in the spoken language. It is this form specifically that

[1] The present subjunctive belongs to everyone; children use it at a young age, before going to school' (my translation).
[2] 'The subjunctive [...] is less and less frequent in everyday language (from which it may very well disappear completely)' (my translation).

has competed with the inflected future over the last six centuries, to the point where it has become the dominant variant in many spoken varieties of French. In fact, Bauche (1928: 119) claims that in French spoken in Paris during the early part of the 20th century, the inflected future was already in a "state of crisis".

2.0 Research questions

In this dissertation, I examine the variable use of the subjunctive mood and ways of expressing temporal reference in varieties of French spoken in Ontario, Canada. I investigate these variables within the variationist sociolinguistic framework first developed in the work of William Labov (e.g., Labov 1966, 1972a, 1994). The research presented here is a trend study which involves corpus data for the same types of speakers sampled in the same communities, first in 1978 and later in 2005. The 28-year span separating the two sociolinguistic corpora (one generation apart) makes it possible to test for possible linguistic change in real time.

An added dimension of the present research is that it investigates the potential effect of language restriction. The data come from corpora for French spoken in four communities located in central and eastern Ontario: Hawkesbury, where 80% of the local population claimed French as a mother tongue; Cornwall and North Bay, where French is a minority language, spoken by 27% and 14% of the population, respectively; and Pembroke, where French is a weak minority language, spoken by only 6% of the local population.[3]

[3] The Canadian census defines mother tongue as the first language learned by the respondent in childhood and still understood on census day. When referring to the French mother tongue population enumerated by the Canadian census, for convenience I will use the term Francophone, bearing in mind that a small proportion of individuals who claim French as a mother tongue may have lost (or never acquired) the

In addition to taking into account the relative concentration of French speakers in each locality, I will also test the effect of the degree of use of French in the daily life for each speaker. Three types of speakers are distinguished along a continuum: unrestricted speakers, semi-restricted speakers, and restricted speakers. As will be shown in the empirical chapters, degree of language restriction is a useful heuristic for the formulation of hypotheses regarding the influence of social and linguistic factors on language variation and change in communities where French is in contact with English (Mougeon and Beniak 1991). A primary objective of my research is to measure the way in which a speaker's position on the continuum of French language restriction plays a role in her or his use of the linguistic variables under study.

In this dissertation, I address five main research questions:

1. What social and linguistic factors condition selection of the subjunctive mood in spoken Ontario French?

2. What social and linguistic factors condition the expression of future temporal reference in spoken Ontario French?

3. To what extent do variable levels of contact with English, measured in terms of degree of language restriction at the level of the individual and of the community, influence variation?

4. Is there evidence of change over time with respect to selection of the subjunctive mood and the expression of future temporal reference?

5. How do the results presented in this dissertation compare with those reported in studies of the same variables in other Laurentian varieties?

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ability to speak French. This term will also be used generally to designate French-speaking individuals in or outside the Canadian context.

3.0 Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is divided into six chapters, which are organized as follows: In Chapter 2, I provide an overview of the history of Laurentian (along with Acadian) varieties of French spoken in Canada, their distinguishing features, and some of the main research questions which have been pursued in research on Laurentian French in particular. In Chapter 3, I introduce the theoretical framework and outline the variationist methodology which forms the basis of the quantitative analyses. This is followed by a detailed description of the Ontario French corpora from which the data were drawn. Chapters 4 and 5 provide the results of the quantitative analyses of the two variables under examination – the variable use of the subjunctive mood and the expression of future temporal reference, respectively. In the last chapter, Chapter 6, I draw the results for both variables together and provide suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: French in Canada

1.0 Introduction

The present chapter is concerned with past and current issues related to the study of spoken French in Canada. The objective is to provide a sufficiently detailed overview of the sociolinguistic literature, with a special focus on Laurentian varieties of French, to situate the results presented in the empirical chapters that follow. To do this, I first discuss the two main varieties of French spoken in Canada, i.e., Acadian and Laurentian French.[4] For each variety, I begin by providing historical information concerning the social and geographic origins of the settlers to the New World. This is followed by a description of the geographic spread of each settlement group within Canada along with current sociodemographic information for both as well as a summary of the structural differences between these two main varieties.

Since Ontario French is a Laurentian variety, a more detailed account of prior research on such varieties is warranted. I document the history of linguistic research on Laurentian varieties, from pre-20th century works on Québec French to late 20th- and early 21st-century studies. Also included is a list of the existing corpora for Laurentian French. I then present the main research questions addressed in prior research, which serves to contextualize the quantitative results provided in subsequent chapters. The literature is concerned with the retention of features found in 17th-century French; the extent to which present-day Laurentian varieties share the same features; similarities and

[4] There are in fact three native varieties of French found in North America. The third variety, Cadien, most closely related to Acadian French, is spoken in the state of Louisiana. For details see, for example, Valdman (1997), Rottet (2001) and Valdman et al. (2010).

differences in the linguistic and social factors that govern variability; the role of language contact; and the effect of restriction in the use of French as a language of daily communication. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the contribution that the present study makes to this literature.

2.0 Main groups of French spoken in Canada

The term *Canadian French* has long been used in studies or characterizations of linguistic phenomena found in French spoken throughout Canada. Despite its rather widespread use, this generic term gives the false impression that Canadian French is one homogenous variety (Comeau and Grimm 2012; King 2013). Frequently, the term refers, explicitly or implicitly, to one particular variety of French, namely that spoken in Québec (e.g., Poplack and Turpin 1999). However, such usage glosses over the fact that there exist two structurally distinct varieties of Canadian French. Acadian French is spoken in the four provinces of Atlantic Canada (Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) and also in a handful of communities in eastern Québec (e.g., Les Îles de la Madeleine). The label Acadian derives from the name of the former French colony, *Acadie*, which was located in what is now peninsular Nova Scotia (see below). Laurentian French is spoken in Québec and in the Canadian provinces west of Québec (Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia), as well as in parts of the United States, such as New England and Michigan (Fox 2007).[5]

[5] The earliest attestation of the term 'Laurentian French' dates to a conference proceeding published in 1993. For Marthe Faribault, 'Laurentian' is defined as within the boundaries of the province of Québec (1993: 207). The term is later used in Raymond Mougeon (2000: 34) to refer to French spoken in New France more generally. The contemporary definition of the term, whereby 'Laurentian' is understood along genetic more so than geographic lines, can be attributed to Marie-Hélène Côté. Côté (2005: 5) defines Laurentian French as follows: "[le] français issu de la Nouvelle-France, parlé à l'origine le long du Saint-Laurent et qui s'est répandu ailleurs au Québec, en Ontario, dans d'autres provinces canadiennes et dans

Acadian and Laurentian varieties are distinct from one another due to their respective area of provenance in France, the different social backgrounds of the settlers who came to the New World and degree of contact with both external varieties of French and with English. Although the two varieties show numerous contrasts at all linguistic levels, the focus here is on the area of morphosyntax. While this dissertation is concerned with variation and change in particular Laurentian varieties, some comparison with Acadian is warranted because the former involve varying degrees of minority language restriction, as is often found for Acadian varieties as well.

2.1 The Acadian diaspora

The Acadian presence in eastern Canada dates from the 1630s.[6] Settlement of the first families in Acadie began in the 1630s. The first colonists settled in what is now the province of Nova Scotia. They came from one main source area, the centre-west of France, which includes the former provinces of Aunis, Poitou, Saintonge and Angoumois. The settlers were primarily from the lower classes.

The history of the Acadian people can be considered a turbulent one, due in no small part to multiple territorial conflicts between the French and English, ultimately resulting in the *grand dérangement* of 1755–1756. Some 10,000 Acadians were removed from their lands and deported to other British Colonies, to England or to France. In the late 1760s, Acadians were permitted to return to Acadie but not to the arable lands they

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certaines régions des États-Unis." 'French that emerged in New France, spoken originally along the St. Lawrence River, and that spread throughout Québec, as well as into Ontario, other Canadian provinces and some areas of the United States' (my translation).

[6] This section offers a brief synthesis of the history of the Acadian people reported in Flikeid (1994) and (King 2013). For a more detailed account of the history of Acadie, see Arsenault (1987) for Prince Edward Island, Butler (1995) for Newfoundland, Daigle (1982, 1983) for New Brunswick, and Ross and Deveau (1982) for Nova Scotia.

formerly tended, of which English colonists had subsequently assumed ownership. Instead, they settled in less desirable areas that were in close proximity to English settlements. Consequently, many Acadian communities have had limited to no contact with external varieties of French but often regular and intense contact with English.

Today, New Brunswick is home to the largest population of Acadians; it is also Canada's only officially bilingual province. In the remaining Atlantic Provinces – Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia – Acadians tend to be concentrated in isolated, predominantly rural communities (Flikeid 1994: Map 2). In these three provinces, French is a minority language at the provincial level (see Table 1), protected to varying degrees by provincial and federal legislation. However, it may in fact enjoy the status of majority language at the local level, as is the case in Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia, and the Evangéline region of Prince Edward Island. Statistics for 2011 indicate that French is spoken as a mother tongue by over a quarter of a million individuals in the Atlantic Provinces, but only in New Brunswick do Francophones comprise a substantial portion of the total population (Table 1).

Province	Total population	French speakers	% of French population
Newfoundland	509,950	2,480	0.5%
Prince Edward Island	138,435	5,190	3.7%
Nova Scotia	910,615	31,105	3.4%
New Brunswick	739,895	233,530	31.5%
Total	2,298,895	267,345	

TABLE 2.1 Population of speakers of French as a mother tongue in Acadie (Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 federal census)

2.1.1 Research on Acadian varieties

Research on spoken varieties of Acadian French has reported on the effects of geographic isolation from other French varieties as well as on the effects of contact with English. Some varieties have maintained a number of traditional vernacular features of French that have fallen into disuse in other contemporary varieties. This is explained, at least in part, by the fact that Acadian settlers for the most part came from one main source region in France and one stratum of the social hierarchy. In addition, lack of access to French education in English-dominant areas led to retention of features which might otherwise have been stigmatized.

The conservative nature of Acadian varieties of French is particularly evident in the area of morphosyntax. One feature is the use of traditional verbal morphology, exemplified by 1PL *je parl**ons*** 'we speak' and 3PL *ils parl**ont*** 'they (fem.) speak' (King 2013), vernacular usage which died out in urban European varieties by the turn of the 19th century (King, et al. 2011) though retained much longer in rural varieties, as documented by the *Atlas linguistique de la France* (Gilliéron and Edmont 1902–1910).

The extent to which *je* + verb + *–ons* and *ils* + verb + *–ont* are retained in present-day Acadian varieties depends on the degree of contact with supralocal varieties (King 2013). For instance, *je* + verb + *–ons* dominates in communities with little contact with supralocal varieties, including communities in Newfoundland and much of Nova Scotia. On the other hand, the 'mainstream' vernacular variant *on parle* 'we speak' is dominant in New Brunswick and also in parts of Prince Edward Island where there is extensive contact with Laurentian French. A similar scenario is also found with respect to the 3PL conjugations. The traditional variant *ils* + verb + *–ont* constitutes the dominant variant in

all but those communities in New Brunswick with the longest history of dialect contact and French-language education.

While Acadian varieties have preserved older vernacular speech forms, they may also be characterized as more innovative due to the duration and intensity of contact with English. By way of example, the English preposition *back* is commonly integrated into Acadian varieties as a locative adverb expressing the meaning "return to a former state or place", e.g., *il a arrivé back chez nous*, 'he arrived back at our house' (King 2000: 121).[7] King (2000) reports on a further innovation in *back* usage in Acadian varieties experiencing long-term and high levels of contact with English, such as in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. In addition to its locative sense, *back* has also taken on a second meaning, "repeat an action or process", e.g., *veux-tu back me conter ça?* 'do you want to tell me that again?' (example from Prince Edward Island, in King 2000: 131) in Acadian communities with intense, long-term contact with English.[8] Note as well that this second example shows *back* occupying the position of a French aspectual adverb, i.e., it has undergone syntactic reanalysis. King observes that such usage is not found where contact with English is limited (e.g., Northeast New Brunswick) nor of short duration (e.g., Newfoundland).

In sum, studies centred on language variation in Acadian French have brought to light the polyvalent role of different external factors and combinations thereof with respect to patterns of French language use. These studies have helped formulate important research questions pertaining to the preservation and loss of older structures and to the emergence of innovative structures in situation of contact with English. These

[7] Such usage of *back* has also been observed in a number of Laurentian varieties, including Ontario French (Canale et al. 1977).

[8] Use of both locative and iterative *back* has also been attested in Louisiana French (see Rottet 2000).

include: What type(s) of social conditions are conducive to the maintenance of traditional features in a given speech community? In what way(s) does exposure to external varieties and/or external linguistic norms influence the levelling of such features? To what extent does contact with English promote the development of contact-induced innovations? What are the linguistic outcomes of different thresholds and durations of contact with English? As will be shown below, these questions have also contributed to our understanding of language variation and change in Laurentian varieties spoken in Canada.

2.2 The Laurentian diaspora

Laurentian French designates French that is spoken in Québec and its sister varieties which spread westward in Canada and to parts of the United States near or bordering the provinces of Ontario and Québec.[9]

The colonization of New France, a large territory that, at its largest, extended from Québec to the Rocky Mountains and south to the Gulf of Mexico (Poirier 1994; Auger 2005), began in the early 17th century. Settlement along the Laurentian Valley, in the present-day province of Québec, began in the 1630s. The colonists came predominantly from the French provinces north of the Loire Valley, including primarily Île-de-France, Normandie, Poitou-Charentes, Anjou and Bretagne (Charbonneau and Guillemette 1994). Emigration from France took place at regular intervals during the 17th and 18th centuries, with as many as 60,000 people settling in New France (Choquette 1997: 2). The majority of these settlers came from more urban areas and from all levels of

[9] Papen (1984, 1993) argues that there is a third variety of French spoken in Canada, Métis French, distinct from Laurentian and Acadian French. This particular variety evolved in a situation of language contact between aboriginal women (Cree, Ojibwe, Chippewa, Assiniboine) and Québécois men in Western Canada, probably during the 19th century. However, since Métis French shares many features with other Laurentian varieties, in addition to being genetically related, I include it with Laurentian varieties.

the socioeconomic hierarchy, in contrast to the Acadian settlers. The bulk of migrants were not peasants, as is often assumed to be the case, but were mostly artisans, labourers and members of the bourgeoisie (Choquette 1997). Migration halted around 1759 when New France fell under British rule. Some four years later, upon the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the French permanently ceded their vast colony to the British Crown. At that time, it is estimated that the population of Québec had reached 75,000 (Choquette 1997: 279).

Now under British rule, the francophone population of the former French colony, including present-day Québec, found itself confronted by two important challenges.[10] On the one hand, most did not speak English, the language of their colonizers; on the other hand, their religious, cultural and linguistic ties to France had been severed. This linguistic isolation had a considerable effect on French speakers in North America. For nearly two centuries, Laurentian Francophones (along with their Acadian counterpart(s)) remained under threat of an assimilationist ideology that aimed to impose a unilingual English-speaking country, this despite the fact that, in the area that is now Québec, French speakers represented the majority of the population (Auger 2005).

With the passing of the Québec Act in 1774 (which saw an extension of the borders of the Province of Québec, free practice of Catholicism and partial re-establishment of French civil law) and later the creation of Lower Canada in 1791, French speakers were able to maintain their ties to Catholicism, which shielded them from loss of their language and culture through a network of institutions (e.g., schools and hospitals) that were either supported or controlled by the French Catholic church.

[10] Certain details presented in this section were drawn from Auger (2005).

The church also discouraged migration to urban centres where the English-speaking population typically held Francophones in low esteem and where many economic sectors were under British control.

In 1839, Lord Durham (then the Governor General of British North America) published what became known as the Durham Report. It was released after his investigation of the political situation in Upper Canada (Southern Ontario) and Lower Canada (Southern Québec and Labrador) following the Upper and Lower Canada Rebellions. As a way to eradicate linguistic and cultural duality, Durham recommended uniting Upper and Lower Canada. This, he proposed, would facilitate the linguistic and religious assimilation of French Canadians to an English Protestant life (Choquette 1980). The union of Upper and Lower Canada into the Province of Canada became official with the adoption of the Act of Union (1841).

Amalgamation of Upper and Lower Canada lasted only a short time, as the 1867 Confederation created the provinces of Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. As a result of Confederation, the Québécois were afforded the right to establish their own provincial legislative assembly and, in addition, the Catholic church could continue to manage or support institutions that played a key role in the preservation of the French language and French Canadian culture.

During the 19th century, migration from rural to urban areas in Québec was on the rise. A growing number of Québécois from the lower and middle classes either were forced to learn English or chose to learn it out of economic necessity, given the cultural and economic domination of Anglophones in urban centres. Owing to the domination of English in urban centres, Francophones from rural areas who moved to the large centres

chose to assimilate into the anglophone community by shifting to English at home and enrolling their offspring in (Protestant) English-language schools. A dramatic drop in birth rate after the First World War meant that Québécois were under growing risk of being outnumbered by Anglophones.

Anglophone domination persisted until the early 1960s, a period in Québec's history that marked great social and political change. Nationalism gained considerable strength and spurred the *Révolution tranquille* during which Québécois started to (re)gain control of the economy. The slogan *Maîtres chez nous* ('Masters in our own house') speaks to Québécois' desire for change, which included increased control over their resources (then largely controlled by the minority anglophone elite in Montréal); reduced influence of the Catholic Church in defining Québécois culture and identity; reduced anglicization of immigrants; recognition of vernacular Québec French (known as *joual*), even in literary form (poetry, theatre) (see Plourde 2000: Chapter 9, in particular, for a discussion on the sociocultural changes that occurred during the *Révolution tranquille*).

In 1976 the nationalist *Parti Québécois* assumed leadership of the province and enacted the *Charte de la langue française* in 1977. According to the new Charter, which succeeded the *Loi sur la langue officielle* (1974) in recognizing French as the sole official language of the province, Francophones could work or be served in French in all areas of Québec society. What is more, the Parti Québécois also established or reinforced institutions such as *Office québécois de la langue française,* the *Régie de la langue française* and the *Conseil de langue française* to implement the language policies outlined in the Charter. Language reform included the development of French terminology to replace numerous borrowings from English which had made their way

into the lexicon of Québec French, and enforced the use of French in the workplace and on public billboards and signs, etc. The mid-seventies also saw the codification of a Standard Québec French, whereby the written and spoken French used by educated Québécois, not Standard European French, became increasingly recognized as norms for Québec society. Such a shift was reflected in the dissemination of a standardized and de-anglicized variety of Québec French in the public sectors via the school system, the production of dictionaries of Standard Québec French (e.g., *Usito*), and the creation of the *Banque de dépannage linguistique* ('language troubleshooting database') by the *Office québécois de la langue française*, etc.

Threat of assimilation to English was lessened in Québec and in Canada as a whole when the federal government introduced legislation that aimed to protect the French language and its speakers regardless of whether they were in a minority or majority setting. In 1969, the Official Languages Act elevated the status of the French language to that of English and both became the nation's *de jure* official languages. This was the first legislative measure to recognize the linguistic rights of Francophones outside Québec. These rights were subsequently strengthened by section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), which guarantees the right to education in French outside Québec.[11] However, where French is spoken by small numbers of the overall population, as in small communities in western and eastern Canada, the threat of assimilation has not been eradicated.

In present-day Canada, approximately 90% of speakers of Laurentian French live in Québec; the remaining 10% (approximately 700,000) are scattered across the five

[11] For additional information on the sociohistorical factors that impacted on the survival and evolution of French in Québec, see Plourde (2000).

provinces that lie to the west of it (Table 2.2). Statistics for 2011 indicate that in these six provinces, French is spoken as a mother tongue by nearly seven million people.

Province	Total population	French speakers	% of population
Québec	7,815,955	6,102,210	78%
Ontario	12,722,065	493,295	3.9%
Manitoba	1,193,095	42,085	3.5%
Saskatchewan	1,018,315	16,280	1.6%
Alberta	3,610,180	68,545	1.9%
British Columbia	4,356,205	57,280	1.3%
Total	30,715,815	6,779,695	

TABLE 2.2 Population of speakers of French as a mother tongue (excluding Acadie) (Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 federal census)

The establishment of French in communities west of Québec was in large part the result of multiple waves of migration.[12] While there was some movement in the early 18th century away from the Laurentian Valley towards the Great Lakes area (e.g., Detroit), more substantial numbers began their search for prosperity during the 19th and 20th centuries (see Choquette 1980). For instance, the arrival of French Canadians can be traced back to the first half of the 19th century in Saint-Boniface, Manitoba, and the early 20th century in Bonnyville, Alberta.

2.2.1 Ethnolinguistic vitality of French in Ontario

Given its geographic proximity to Québec, it is perhaps unsurprising that Ontario experienced the largest influx of French Canadian migrants. For example, settlements were established in the late 1600s to mid-1700s on the shores of the Great Lakes, followed by waves in the 1830s to 1840s to Eastern Ontario, the 1880s to Central and

[12] Some French-speaking communities outside Québec were established not by French Canadians but by Europeans. For example, in Saskatchewan, the hamlet of Bellegarde was founded by Belgians in 1893 and the town of Saint-Brieux by Bretons in 1904 (Papen and Marchand 2006; see also Hallion 2006 and Martineau 2012).

Northern Ontario, and the mid-1940s to Central and South-Western Ontario. Each wave was in large part led by the desire for economic improvement through agricultural activities (17thc.–19th c.), forestry and mining (20th c.) and white-collar and other professions (1960s) (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 19–20). The combined effect of frequent migration from Québec to Ontario over a period of three and a half centuries along with an increased presence of foreign-born francophone immigrants since the 1960s (mainly in Ottawa and Toronto) makes Ontario home to the largest population of Francophones in Canada outside of Québec (see Choquette 1980).

The ethnolinguistic vitality of the French language in Ontario can be ascribed to several factors.[13] The fur trade represented the initial impetus for the migration of French Canadians toward southwest Ontario (along the Great Lakes, then called the *Pays-d'en-Haut*) on either side of the Detroit River. With migration came Jesuit priests who founded missions in the early 17th century that aimed to convert the indigenous populations to Catholicism. The Jesuits also played a central role in the promotion of Ontario as a land of new opportunity and francophone settlement. Thus, as early as the first westward migration, the Catholic church served as an important conduit for the spread into Ontario of its values, including the language, culture and religion of French Canadians. After the British Conquest in 1763, the Catholic church also represented an important safety net for Franco-Ontarians, since it offered services which protected parishioners' health, social welfare and education.

As the anglophone population rose throughout Ontario in the 19th century, Francophones became progressively marginalized in terms of socioeconomic status,

[13] For additional information on the ethnolinguistic vitality of French in Ontario, see Choquette (1980).

language and religion. Confederation in 1867 allowed the Ontario government to confront the influx of francophone immigration using legislative measures whose objective was to assimilate the francophone population into anglophone society. In the late 1880s, steps were taken by the English-dominated provincial government to eliminate division between Francophones and Anglophones. The first step, in 1890, involved legislating monolingual English education (except in areas where children did not understand English); the second, in 1891, enforced the removal of French textbooks from schools. These measures constituted major attacks on the francophone population since the French-language schools were the most significant barriers against linguistic and cultural assimilation. The situation regressed in the early 1900s such that, in accordance with Regulation 17, adopted in 1912, the use of French was prohibited as a language in education. In response to extensive lobbying from both the lay francophone community and the Catholic church, this regulation was revoked in 1927, but varying levels of French-medium instruction were re-established only in those schools where French Canadian students were a strong majority.

The situation of French in Ontario improved over the next few decades. After the 1960s, French benefited from strong institutional support, certainly at the level of provincial government. For example, the use of French was legislated back into the secondary and postsecondary educational systems in 1968 and French received official status on a par with English in the courts in 1984. With the passing of the French Language Services Act in 1986, the use of French and access to service in French is guaranteed in the Ontario Legislative Assembly, in legal texts (provincial laws and regulations), and in provincial ministries and agencies located within designated regions.

A further commitment on the part of the provincial government that is enshrined in the Act was the establishment of the Office of Francophone Affairs whose mission is to ensure that the provincial government abides by the provisions stipulated in the Act. With the exception of New Brunswick, no other provincial government in Canada has deployed as many efforts to recognize and secure the linguistic rights of its minority francophone population (Mougeon 2014).

2.2.2 Linguistic (dis)continuity, linguistic exogamy and linguistic reproduction in English Canada

In the predominantly English-speaking provinces of Canada, the number of Francophones is in decline. Over the 45-year period spanning 1961 to 2006, the francophone population located in all provinces but Québec has witnessed a steady decrease from 6.3% to 3.6% of the country's total population. While it is true that from 1961 to 1991 the francophone population of these provinces grew in absolute numbers (852,015 to 972,069), by the turn of the 21st century those numbers returned to roughly the same level reported for 1961 (884,445). Moreover, in 1961, 75% of Canada's French-speaking population outside of Québec lived in either Ontario or New Brunswick, whereas, as of 2006, that proportion rose to 82%. This is most likely due to the fact that legislation protected the linguistic rights of Francophones in these provinces, as mentioned above.

Mougeon (2014) considers various demolinguistic criteria that can be used to assess the ethnolinguistic vitality of Francophones in the English-speaking provinces of Canada. Such criteria include rates of linguistic (dis)continuity, linguistic exogamy and linguistic reproduction. Using relevant census data, Mougeon (2014: Table 2) shows that in 1971, 1991, 2001 and 2006, there has been a steady increase in linguistic discontinuity

among Francophones outside of Québec. For Mougeon, level of linguistic discontinuity is expressed in terms of the numbers and proportions of individuals who claim French as a mother tongue (i.e., the language they learned as children at home) and who, at the same time, report communicating in a language other than French (English for the most part) in this same setting. For instance, from 1971 to 2006 the rates of linguistic discontinuity have risen in all nine provinces but the magnitude of the rise and its speed varies from province to province. Thus in Saskatchewan, the rate of linguistic discontinuity has risen from 51.9% in 1971 to 74.4% in 2006. The figures for New Brunswick have remained the lowest, evidenced by only a modest increase, 8.7% to 11.2%. In Ontario, the rate of discontinuity was initially relatively low (29.9%) but in 2006 it was almost 42%.

In a similar vein, rates of linguistic exogamy governing marriage have steadily risen outside of Québec. In Saskatchewan, for instance, the rate of linguistic exogamy has increased from 42% in 1971 to 66% in 2006 compared with 52% to 74% for linguistic discontinuity. The rates of linguistic exogamy for New Brunswick and Ontario have also climbed over time: 9% to 24% in New Brunswick and 28% to 47% in Ontario. The correlation between rates of exogamous marriage and decline of French as a home language suggest a causal relationship.

That said, a mixed marriage does not always lead to loss of French in the home. Francophone parents do continue to transmit the language to their children; however, the rates of transmission contrast sharply according to the sex of the francophone parent (Mougeon 2014: Table 4). With the exception of New Brunswick, in 1991, 2001 and 2006 francophone mothers in the majority English-speaking provinces were at least twice as likely to transmit French to their children as were francophone fathers. For instance,

the transmission rates associated with francophone fathers in a mixed marriage residing in Ontario are 11.9% (1991) and 12.6% (2006), whereas the rates for francophone mothers are 29.3% (1991) and 34.7% (2006). In light of these figures, the central role that mothers play in language transmission cannot be ignored.[14] Note, too, that the transmission rates have increased or are unchanged in almost every province between 1991 and 2006, irrespective of the type of marriage (endogamous or exogamous) or of the parents' sex. The recent higher rates of French language transmission have been insufficient to reverse the erosion of the francophone minorities.

An additional demolinguistic criterion discussed by Mougeon (2014) is the rate of linguistic reproduction, which is based on a calculation of the number of francophone children 0 to 9 years old divided by the number of francophone adults 25 to 34 years old (i.e., the approximate age range of parents with children aged 0 to 9) plus 2%.[15] In 1961, the rates of linguistic reproduction were greater than 1 in seven out of nine provinces. The lowest rates apply to the geographically peripheral provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador (0.47) and British Columbia (0.41). The rate calculated for New Brunswick for 1961 was more than double that required to ensure linguistic reproduction (2.5), even surpassing that of Québec (1.82). However, by 1986 all provinces, including Québec, witnessed a sharp drop below the threshold of 1 and, despite some fluctuation in 1991 and in 2001, their rates of linguistic reproduction in 2006 either slid below the 0.5 mark (Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Alberta, British Columbia) or remained

[14] See King (1986) for a discussion of the role of exogamous marriage in language decline in a Franco-Newfoundland community.

[15] Values of 1 or greater indicate that there are as many or more francophone children than francophone parents and therefore linguistic reproduction is ensured. Values less than 1 indicate fewer francophone children than francophone parents and therefore linguistic reproduction is jeopardized. The addition of 2% to the calculation factors in the possibility of child mortality.

above it (Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan). In the provinces of Prince Edward Island (0.69), New Brunswick (0.70), Québec (0.80) and Ontario (0.68), where rates of linguistic reproduction were the highest in 2006, the French language is transmitted to roughly .75 francophone children for every francophone adult. It is interesting to note that between 2001 and 2006, rates of linguistic reproduction actually improved, sometimes markedly, in seven of the nine provinces investigated.[16] Indeed, the results presented above must be considered in relation to an overall decline in birth rates.

2.2.3 Research on Laurentian varieties

Laurentian varieties of French have been the object of linguistic inquiry for well over a century. Earlier works tended to offer corrective measures to the public with the aim of 'purifying' the language, i.e., ridding it of what were deemed archaisms, barbarisms, solecisms and anglicisms (e.g., Boucher-Belleville 1855; Gingras 1861; Dunn 1880; Tardivel 1880; see also Martineau 2005 for a related discussion). Such prescriptive endeavours may in fact denigrate features that are firmly entrenched in the vernacular, exaggerate the use of some infrequent words or features and also ignore social factors behind such usage. It should be kept in mind, however, that these works were produced at a time when Québec French benefited from little overt prestige in the face of English political and economic dominance and the assumed superiority of European French (Poirier 1980).

[16] Mougeon (2014: 270) hypothesizes that the increase in rates for language transmission and linguistic reproduction observed in many of the anglophone provinces between 1991 and 2006 reflect, on the one hand, the creation of state-funded French language schools managed by Francophones; and, on the other, access to services in French in provincial government. Increased institutional support has likely had an observable positive effect on French minority speakers' perception of the value of their language.

Not all early accounts of Québec French examined the language through the prescriptive lens of language purists. Perhaps one of the most well-known descriptive resources of Québécois French is the *Glossaire du parler français au Canada* (*GPFC*), first published in 1930 by the *Société du Parler français au Canada*. The GPFC included vocabulary items attested by members of the *Société du Parler français au Canada* not found in dictionaries of European Standard French of the period. Further, for each of the items included, the *GPFC* provided information on its pronunciation, meaning(s), and putative geographic (e.g., Picardie, Anjou, Bourgogne, etc.) or linguistic (e.g., borrowing from English, from an Amerindian language) provenance. However, it does not provide social or stylistic information about the entries.

More recently, linguists have focussed on historical explanations for divergences between Québec and contemporary European varieties. Poirier (1980) writes that one of the most salient characteristics of Québec French is the use of archaisms, along with New World innovations and a subset of borrowings from Amerindian languages and English. With regard to anglicisms, Poirier argues against exaggerated claims of English influence and shows that several lexical anglicisms have in fact been supplanted by French words (e.g., *groceur* which has been replaced by *épicier*). Like the authors of the GPFC, Poirier diverges sharply from the tradition of language purists and argues that Québec French, with its own history, is indeed a legitimate variety of French. The works of Poirier and his associates paved the way for the production of the most recent generation of Québec French dictionaries (e.g., *Usito*), which provide a more comprehensive and objective description of the lexicon of Québec French, as well as information regarding register.

2.2.4 Sociolinguistic corpora for Laurentian French

As indicated above, the 1960s marked a period of profound sociopolitical change in Québec within the context of the *Révolution tranquille*. Up to that point, Québécois had come to be seen as inferior to English-speaking residents of the province, especially economically and linguistically, and Québec French itself "was strongly denigrated by foreigners and Quebecers alike" (Kircher 2012: 347). While the negative view of Québec French and perceived superiority of European French remained prevalent during the 1960s, in the 1970s there developed a growing recognition of Québec French as a distinctive and integral component to Québécois identity and society. Increased recognition and valorization of Québec French also coincided with linguists' efforts to demonstrate through scientific methods that Québec French was indeed a legitimate language whose features were part of a structured linguistic system. Further, with the advent of (quantitative) sociolinguistics in the 1960s, researchers began the task of constructing sociolinguistic interview corpora for Canadian French varieties.

The first large corpus of spoken Laurentian French was constructed in 1963–1964 by Bibeau and Dugas (Boisvert and Laurendeau 1988). Initially, the corpus contained 102 sociolinguistic interviews 30 minutes in length from informants living in the Montréal area. In 1979, however, the size of the corpus was reduced to make it more homogenous. The final corpus contains 71 sociolinguistic interviews only from informants born in Montréal or who had arrived before five years of age. The Bibeau and Dugas corpus was followed in 1971 by the well-known Sankoff-Cedergren corpus of Montréal French, which comprises 120 sociolinguistic interviews for Montréal-born Francophones. The corpus is stratified according to age, sex, and a number of social measures, such as

income (D. Sankoff and G. Sankoff 1973). It provides a representative sample of spoken French that was sufficiently large to capture the extant linguistic variation in the city (D. Sankoff et al. 1976: 91). The initial studies based on the 1971 corpus succeeded in demonstrating that Montréal French was not a corrupt language of stereotypes but rather a variety characterized by "orderly heterogeneity", to use the terminology of Weinreich et al. 1968.

The construction of the Sankoff-Cedergren corpus served as an important model for future sociolinguistic studies. Over the course of the past five decades, researchers have set out to construct sociolinguistic corpora of speech for a number of Laurentian varieties. At the time of writing, there exist approximately 35 sociolinguistic corpora for Laurentian French constructed across the Laurentian diaspora (Table 2.3).[17] With the recent addition of the *Récits du parler français d'autrefois* (Poplack and St-Amand 2009), a digitized collection of folktales told by rural Québécois born in the mid- to late-1800s and recorded by the Laval University folklorist Luc Lacourcière, the available body of data of Laurentian French now offers a time depth of more than 150 years. While most of the corpora involve one time period, a relatively small number taps usage at different point in time. These include the Montréal 1971, 1984 and 1995 corpora (e.g., G. Sankoff and Blondeau 2007; Blondeau 2011; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011) and the Ontario 1978 and 2005 corpora (e.g., Mougeon and Beniak 1991; Mougeon et al. 2008, 2009).

[17] The total of 35 corpora must be taken as a conservative number. Undoubtedly, others may exist about which little is known. Excluded from this calculation are the extant corpora for written French, such as 19th-century comedies, personal letters and personal diaries (see Mougeon and Martineau 2003 and Martineau 2005).

It must be kept in mind that no two corpora are identical in design. The actual format of each interview and its characteristics, e.g., type of speaker, interview length, locality, year of recording, etc., may vary considerably, depending on the aims of the researcher(s). In addition, the array of topics discussed in the sociolinguistic interviews vary (local traditions, questions surrounding identity, language use), as do the actual interview protocols (e.g., semi-directed interviews, story-telling, word lists, elicitation tasks, questionnaires).

Name of corpus	Year(s)	Location	Reference(s)
British Columbia			
Maillardville Corpus	2006	Maillardville (Coquitlam)	Gess (2011)
Alberta			
Papen-Creore-Rochet	1976	Bonnyville, Edmonton, Falher	Hallion (2006), Hallion et al. (2011)
Walker	2001–2002	Peace River	Hallion et al. (2011)
Saskatchewan			
Martineau-Mocquais	1998–2000	Lower half of the province	Hallion et al. (2011)
Papen	2008	Saint-Albert	Hallion et al. (2011)
Manitoba			
Corpus de français mitchif	1987	St-Laurent	Lavallée (2003)
Hallion	1995–1997	Saint-Boniface	Hallion (2006), Mougeon et al. (2010)
Hallion-Bédard	2008–2010	Southern Manitoba	Hallion et al. (2011)
Ontario			
Mougeon-Hébrard	1974–1975	Welland	Mougeon and Beniak (1989)
Mougeon-Hébrard	1975	Sudbury	Thomas (1986)
Mougeon-Canale	1976	Rayside-Balfour Azilda/Chelmsford (now Sudbury)	Canale et al. (1977), Thomas (1986)
Mougeon-Canale	1976	Timmins	Canale et al. (1977)
Mougeon-Beniak	1978	Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke	Mougeon and Beniak (1991)
Corpus d'Ottawa-Hull	1982–1985	Ottawa	Poplack (1989a)
Golombeski	1995	Hearst	Golombeski (1998, 2011)
Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner	2005	Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke	Mougeon et al. (2008, 2009)
Corpus de Casselman	2009-2010	Casselman	Bigot (2011)

Phonologie du français contemporain (PFC) Hearst	2009	Hearst	Tennant (2013)
Québec			
Récits du français québécois d'autrefois (RFQA)	1940s–1950s	Rural Québec	Poplack and St-Amand (2009)
Corpus de l'Île-aux-Coudres	1960s	Île-aux-Coudres	Seutin (1975)
Bibeau-Dugas	1963–1964	Montréal	Boisvert and Laurendeau (1988)
Sankoff-Cedergren	1971	Montréal	D. Sankoff and G. Sankoff (1973)
Beauchemin-Martel	1972–1973	Sherbrook and environs	Beauchemin (1977)
Corpus Centre-Sud	1976–1978	Montréal (Centre-Sud)	Boisvert and Laurendeau (1988)
Corpus Mougeon	1977	Québec City	Alexandre (2004)
Corpus Deshaies	1977–1979	Québec City (Ste-Foy, St.-Sauveur)	Deshaies (1981)
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	1980–1982	Chicoutimi and Jonquière	Paradis (1985)
Corpus d'Ottawa-Hull	1982–1985	Hull (now Gatineau)	Poplack (1989a)
Montréal-1984	1984	Montréal	Thibault and Vincent (1990)
Montréal-1995	1985	Montréal	Vincent et al. (1995)
Le français en contexte: Milieux scolaire et social	2005–2007	Gatineau	Poplack and Bourdages (2005)
Corpus FRAN	2011–	Various locations	See: continent.uottawa.ca/fr/corpus/corpus/corpus-interrogeable-fran
Corpus Remysen	2011–2013	Montréal	Remysen (2012)
Corpus de Sainte-Anne-des-Lacs	2013	Sainte-Anne-des-Lacs (Laurentides)	Bigot (2014)
United States			
Fox-Smith	2002-2003	New England (eight communities)	Fox (2007), Fox and Smith (2005)

TABLE 2.3 Sociolinguistic corpora for spoken varieties of Laurentian French (1963–2014)

3.0 Research questions addressed in studies of Laurentian varieties

Over the years, a wide range of studies have been dedicated to the examination of phenomena observable in the lexicon, phonology and morphosyntax of spoken Laurentian varieties. Most pertinent to the present study are those that have examined issues related to contact-induced change, innovations, code-switching behaviour and the effect of variable degrees of restriction in the use of French. Below is an overview of the main research questions that have been addressed in previous corpus-based studies which have enhanced our understanding of sociolinguistic variation in Laurentian varieties.

1. To what extent do Laurentian varieties reflect or preserve features of 17th-century French and what factors have led to the retention of such features?

As indicated previously, present-day Laurentian French has its origin in a variety or varieties of European French, brought to present-day Québec at the turn of the 17th century.[18] To draw parallels between contemporary Laurentian varieties and those spoken centuries ago is not without its challenges. In terms of the lexicon, for example, by consulting the *Glossaire du parler français au Canada*, it is possible to reasonably determine whether or not a particular word has its origins in Canada or was part of the lexicon of early settlers and whether or not it was still used in the early 20th century or had gone out of use. The GPFC, as noted earlier, contains information on the European history of a given lexical item. We can then search more recent lexical works, along with sociolinguistic corpora, for its recent history.

Tracing the history of grammatical forms is more difficult. Most early dialectal works are concerned primarily with lexicon. For earlier stages of Laurentian varieties, we

[18] See the anthology *Les origines du français québécois* (Mougeon and Beniak 1994) for details and discussion.

must rely on the written record, in the form of correspondence, early literature and personal accounts such as diaries, most of which tend to preserve the prevailing standard rather than vernacular usage. Further, Québec French does not have the history of grammatical commentary associated with European French, commentary which often proscribes vernacular usage. We are, however, able to construct, to some degree at least, earlier stages of Québec French (see Martineau 2005 and King et al. 2011 for discussion). There is a wealth of information regarding the sociodemographics of French settlement in North America (e.g., Choquette 1997) and we can draw comparisons with North American varieties which have preserved grammatical features present in 17th-century France, such as the conservative Acadian varieties of Nova Scotia (Comeau 2011; King 2013). It is also possible to compare features of contemporary Laurentian French with those of contemporary urban European French and consider points of divergence.

There are also key studies of isolated varieties of Québec French, such as that of Île-aux-Coudres, which is situated approximately 100 km east of Québec City in the St. Lawrence River. For instance, Seutin (1975) reports use of 24 examples of the imperfect subjunctive and 20 of the preterite in spontaneous speech for this variety, features not observed in other studies of Québec French varieties. One line of research, then, would be to search for these forms in other early data sources for the variety.[19] In summary, the judicious use of early data sources and contemporary cross-varietal comparisons make it possible to track grammatical variation and change in Québec French, and in Laurentian French more generally.

[19] In fact, Leroux (2004) reports 200 occurrences of the preterite out of 1,300 occurrences of past temporal reference in the *Récits du français québécois d'autrefois* corpus of mid-20th-century Québec French.

2. To what extent do Laurentian varieties share the same linguistic features?

Prior research has shown that varieties of Laurentian French display a rather high degree of homogeneity in that many of the same phonological, lexical and morphosyntactic features are present in francophone communities across the Laurentian diaspora. When disparities are detected, the difference is often quantitative more so than qualitative, or attributable to social factors.

With respect to phonology, there are several features common to all areas where a Laurentian variety is spoken. One such feature involves the assibilation of /t/ and /d/ when they precede high front rounded vowels and semi-vowels (e.g., *c'est petit* [se p(ə)tˢi] 'it is small' and *aujourd'hui* [oʒuʁdᶻɥi] 'today'). Poirier (2009) points out that the assibilation of dental stops occurs nearly everywhere in Québec and is also widespread in Ontario French. Moreover, assibilation is also found in the French spoken in northern Alberta (Walker 2003) and in Maillardville, British Columbia (Guilbault and Canac-Marquis 2012).

Laurentian varieties tend to possess the same core lexicon and to have the same range of lexical variants. One case of variation that has been the object of several sociolinguistic studies of Laurentian French is the notion of restriction. Studies have examined corpora for French in Québec, Ontario, Manitoba (including Métis French) and in Alberta (Thibault and Daveluy 1989; Nadasdi and Keppie 2004; Mougeon et al., to appear). Four variants (*juste, rien que, seulement, seulement que*) are frequent in all the varieties of Laurentian French under study.[20] Some lexical variants, however, are found in only certain Laurentian French communities and under certain social conditions. For

[20] A fifth variant *ne… que,* though quite infrequent, was also found in all but one (the corpus of Métis French) of the corpora examined by these studies.

instance, *étaient*, the third-person plural conjugation of the verb *être* 'to be' in the imperfect, may co-vary with a nonstandard variant *sontaient* (an analogical form modelled on *sont*, the third-person plural present indicative of *être*). Prior research has concluded that nonstandard *sontaient* persists either 1) in the speech of the working class, or 2) in communities that, on the whole, experience low normative pressure. In Canada, the nonstandard variant has been identified in the spoken French of working-class speakers in Montréal, Québec and Cornwall, Ontario (see Mougeon and Beniak 1991). What is more, it is the dominant variant in Saint-Laurent, Manitoba, where speakers of Métis French have limited contact with supralocal varieties of French (Papen and Bigot 2010).

The morphosyntax of Laurentian varieties can also be described as fairly homogenous. Hallion (2006) investigates a number of morphosyntactic variables in a study focussed on the French spoken in Bonnyville, Alberta, and in two Manitoba communities, Saint-Boniface and Saint-Laurent. She concludes that a number of features, such as preference for the periphrastic (versus the inflected) future, variability in mood choice and selection of the auxiliary *avoir* 'to have' for verbs that "require" *être* 'to be', are part of the vernacular spoken in both provinces. Her work builds on previous research conducted in Ontario and Québec in which analysts have drawn similar conclusions (see G. Sankoff and Thibault 1977 for auxiliary alternation in Montréal French; Laurier 1989 for mood choice in Ontario French; Poplack and Turpin 1999 for future temporal reference in Ottawa-Hull French). The present study will investigate two of the same morphosyntactic variables in four francophone communities in Ontario, namely variation

between the indicative and the subjunctive mood with verbal matrix constructions and the expression of future temporal reference.

3. To what extent do the same linguistic and social factors govern variability across the Laurentian diaspora?

The fact that many of the same linguistic forms or patterns have been attested across Laurentian varieties is sufficient evidence that they exhibit a relatively high degree of structural similarity. Though this may be the case, the mere existence of features does not tell us how usage is constrained. To determine the extent to which varieties of Laurentian French converge or diverge, this constraints question must be addressed for each of the communities investigated.

Hallion (2006: 112) points out that it is challenging to make valid inter-varietal comparisons due to disparate methodological approaches which may be involved in the construction of various sociolinguistic corpora. Recently, researchers have begun to address this issue by conducting comparative research with data from sociolinguistic corpora that are more or less similar in design. Mougeon et al. (2010) examine the variable use of present indicative forms of the first-person singular conjugation of the verb *aller* 'to go', focussing on the variants *je vais, je vas* and *m'as*, and finds many points of convergence in French spoken in Bonnyville, Alberta, Saint-Laurent and Saint-Boniface, Manitoba, and Welland, Ontario. In general, the findings are as follows: 1) standard *je vais* is associated with the speech of younger and upper-class speakers; 2) *je vas* is favoured for habitual actions and is not conditioned by social factors (i.e., it is the neutral variant); and 3) *m'as* is favoured for future temporal reference and is associated

with lower-class speech. Their results show that variability is conditioned by similar, if not identical, linguistic and social factors.

The comparative approach adopted in Mougeon et al. (2010) was also applied to a second study (Mougeon et al., to appear) which analyzes five variants expressing the notion of restriction in the same four Francophone localities. Once again, the quantitative results support an interpretation that varieties of Laurentian French converge more than they diverge, in terms of both the surface realization of variants and the linguistic and social constraints that influence variability.

4. What are the linguistic consequences of contact with English in Laurentian varieties? Though it is often argued that "practically any linguistic feature can be transferred from one language to another, if the circumstances are right" (Winford 2003: 25), the types of contact-induced phenomena that may develop in a particular language – lexical, phonological or structural (i.e., morphosyntactic) – depend in no small part on the degree of contact between languages, which can oscillate from casual to intense (see Winford 2003: 25, Table 1.2 for a table of outcomes of language contact; see also Heine and Kuteva 2005).[21] Laurentian varieties of French have a long history of contact with English, as outlined above with regard to the history of French settlement up to the 19th century. Today, degree and duration of contact with English varies considerably according to province, community, relative status of French (minority or majority), urban or rural context, etc. Researchers have examined a wide range of linguistic consequences associated with French-English contact in Laurentian French-speaking communities of

[21] There is considerable debate with regard to how borrowing comes about. King (2000) presents a more constrained account of borrowing than do the authors cited in the text, in that she argues that in cases of community bilingualism, grammatical borrowing is mediated by the lexicon.

Canada. They have shed light on code-switching behaviour, including the social correlates of such behaviour, among speakers with different levels of bilingualism (Poplack 1985, 1989b). They have also examined lexical aspects of contact, namely the process of borrowing English-origin material (verbs, adjectives, interjections, etc.) into French, with a focus on speakers who use borrowings and what types (e.g., established borrowings versus nonce occurrences) they use in speech, as well as on the social profile of speakers who are most likely to introduce new borrowings into French (Poplack et al. 1988; Mougeon 2000).

Researchers have also drawn attention to the subject of whether or not contact with English has brought about structural changes in the grammar of French. One such case is the use of verb forms in the indicative or conditional rather than the prescribed subjunctive mood after certain verbal (e.g., *vouloir*, 'to want') and non-verbal (e.g., *pour que*, 'so that') matrix constructions. For the Ottawa-Hull region, Poplack (1997) maintains that if language contact played a role, one should expect degree of proficiency in English to correlate negatively with subjunctive usage. An initial analysis of the Ottawa-Hull data seems to support this hypothesis, in that it is those speakers with the highest levels of proficiency in English who least favour selection of the subjunctive. However, Poplack goes on to uncover various interactions in the data which may have skewed the results. She concludes that socioeconomic class, which is the only independent variable consistently selected as statistically significant, is the strongest factor that contributes to the selection of subjunctive forms for both verbal and non-verbal constructions. Overall, speakers engaged in the professional domain are much more likely to select the subjunctive as compared with speakers who are unskilled

workers or who are employed in other sectors. According to Poplack and Levey (2010: 404) "[t]he real explanation for differential use of the subjunctive is class-based, and is not relevant to the contact situation at all."

Mougeon et al. (2005) also consider the effects of language contact on minority French. They analyze six verbal constructions where traditional variants alternate with innovations and where the innovations are similar in form and meaning to English counterparts: e.g. *avoir peur* [literally, to have fear] 'to be afraid' (standard) vs. *être peur* [literally, to be fear] 'to be afraid' (innovation); *chercher* 'to look for' (standard) vs. *regarder pour* 'to look for' (innovation); *jouer à/au*, [literally, to play at (a game or sport)] 'to play' (standard) vs. *jouer* Ø 'to play' (a game or sport) (innovation). Mougeon and his colleagues show that the frequency of the calques on English usage is correlated with the ratio of Francophones vs. Anglophones in the community and with the frequency of use of English in daily life by individual speakers. The lower the francophone population is in the community, the more frequent the innovation is in the local variety of French and, similarly, the more often speakers use English generally in their daily lives. The authors also point to the fact that the innovations under examination have not been attested in corpora of children learning French as a first language or in dialects of French not in contact with English. Their observations provide indirect support for a contact explanation.

5. What are the (socio)linguistic effects of reduced use of French on Laurentian varieties?

Over the past four decades, a large body of work has been established regarding the (socio)linguistic effects that variable levels of restriction in the use of French has on variation and change in Ontario French as well as in other diasporic varieties of

Laurentian French. In studies of Ontario French, it has been found that language restriction at a community and/or individual level can influence the effect of linguistic and social constraints. For instance, the research of Raymond Mougeon and his colleagues has examined linguistic variables in data for four communities – Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke – which vary in terms of the local concentration of Francophones. Mougeon and Beniak (1991) devised a tripartite categorization of members of the Franco-Ontarian speech community according to level of restriction in the use of French, which is as follows. Those speakers who exhibit the highest levels of French-language use restriction (restricted speakers) are in large part the most susceptible to the effects of transfer from English. Conversely, speakers who use French in most situations of communication (unrestricted speakers) are the least likely to exhibit the effects of language contact. As for speakers who use French and English roughly equally, they usually exhibit intermediate levels of resistance to intersystemic transfer (Mougeon and Nadasdi 1998; Mougeon et al. 2005). Frequency of use of French is measured as a global index situated on a continuum ranging from 100 to 0, ranging from extensive to highly restricted use of the language. The language restriction index and the Franco-Ontarian community will be presented in more detail in Chapter 3.

With regard to linguistic constraints, Mougeon et al. (2008) study of the use of *je vas*, *je vais* and *m'as* – respectively, the neutral, formal and vernacular forms of the 1SG present tense conjugation of the verb *alle*r 'to go' – shows that for restricted speakers in the French minority town of Pembroke, the variable under study is not conditioned by the one linguistic constraint they considered, that is, its habitual or temporal function.[22] By

[22] This study is based on an analysis of real-time data from two different corpora (1978 and 2005). I report on the authors' findings for the 2005 corpus only.

way of comparison, in the French majority town of Hawkesbury, unrestricted and semi-restricted speakers are sensitive to the effect of this constraint, whereby *je vas* is favoured for habitual actions (e.g. *des fois je vas regarder un film*, 'sometimes I'll watch a movie'), and *m'as* is favoured for future outcomes (e.g. *la semaine prochaine m'as regarder un film* 'next week I'm going to watch a movie'). In contrast, not only do restricted speakers in Pembroke not recognize this grammatical distinction, but their use of the vernacular variant *m'as* is almost null (n=2/134).

An additional (socio)linguistic effect related to restricted French-language use concerns the proportionate use of vernacular and (hyper)formal variants in speech. A number of studies centered on Ontario French has revealed a tendency for restricted speakers to disfavour vernacular items, which leads to a concomitant preference for formal variants.[23] Mougeon (2005) coins the term 'devernacularization' for this process. These studies show that unrestricted speakers lead in the use of vernacular features whereas semi-restricted speakers generally show rates of use mid-way between the other two groups. In a synthesis of these findings, Mougeon (2005) shows that for 10 out of the 14 variables examined, the use of formal variants is proportionately greater – at times exclusive – in the speech of restricted speakers compared with semi-restricted and unrestricted speakers. For example, restricted speakers do not use vernacular variants such as the possessive preposition *à* (e.g. *le chien à mon ami* 'my friend's dog') or the lexical item *ouvrage* 'work, job'. In both cases, they opt only for the standard variants,

[23] There are, however, some exceptions to this tendency. For instance, Mougeon (2005) observes a greater preference for the nonstandard use of *avoir* 'to have' in place of standard *être* 'to be' as an auxiliary verb in the speech of restricted and semi-restricted speakers, 46% (n=78/171) and 47% (n=94/201) respectively, as compared with unrestricted speakers, 33% (n=47/141). He proposes that the comparatively greater use of the nonstandard variant in the speech of restricted and semi-restricted speakers is perhaps motivated by the fact that *avoir* is the more regular of the two auxiliaries. He also goes on to argue that the rate of *avoir* usage in the speech of restricted speakers has been to some extent suppressed due to the standardizing influence of the school.

possessive *de* (e.g. *le chien de mon ami* 'my friend's dog') and *travail* 'work, job'. That restricted speakers are the users *par excellence* of formal variants in casual speech can be explained by the limited range of contexts in which they communicate in French. These speakers tend not to use French in the home and as such are more prone to the standardizing influences of the French-medium school, which, for many, constitutes the only site of contact with French.

An example which illustrates the effect of language restriction on the social patterning of variation is Nadasdi's (1995) study of subject doubling constructions in the four Ontario French communities mentioned above. Subject doubling is a vernacular feature whereby the subject NP of a clause is followed by a resumptive subject clitic (*la fille elle partait* 'the girl she was leaving' vs. standard *la fille partait* 'the girl was leaving'). Nadasdi reports that speakers in the restricted category are the least likely to produce sentences with subject doubling (17%, compared with 25% for semi-restricted speakers and 41% for unrestricted speakers).[24] What is more, Nadasdi does not find a statistically significant effect for social class for all communities and language restriction groups. In particular, there is no class effect for any of the communities where French is spoken by a minority of the population. Instead, only in the French majority town of Hawkesbury, which is made up almost exclusively of unrestricted speakers, is there a statistically significant correlation with social class: working-class speakers clearly favour subject doubling, whereas lower-middle and middle-class speakers disfavour it. Thus, outside of Hawkesbury, minority speakers have not been sufficiently exposed to

[24] The quantitative analyses in this study involved main effects multiple regression using the Goldvarb2 program.

vernacular French for them to produce subject doubling constructions as frequently as speakers in Hawkesbury nor to acquire the social constraints associated with this variable.

4.0 Conclusion

In Canada, we find two distinct French varieties: Acadian and Laurentian. Their separate histories over the course of several centuries largely explain how they differ from one another today. Despite these differences, it is useful to consider the Acadian literature in this dissertation, since the overall conservatism of the variety provides a useful point of comparison. In addition, most of these varieties are also spoken in minority contexts, like the Laurentian varieties dealt with in the present study.

Although this dissertation has particular objectives and research questions, it nonetheless contributes to answering some of the recurrent questions regarding Laurentian French, which were provided in the preceding sections. I also suggest that while the analyses of the variables in the present study rely on data from contemporary spoken Ontario French, historical accounts of the language also serve to interpret its various findings. I address the research questions outlined above in a number of ways. My findings will be compared with previous research to determine how the variables under examination contribute to the evidence supporting the degree of homogeneity/ heterogeneity across Laurentian varieties. Furthermore, the results for the linguistic and social factors that condition the two variables will be situated in a discussion that examines to what extent they converge with or diverge from the patterns reported for other Laurentian varieties of French. As is the case in other studies of Ontario French, language contact and language use restriction will figure prominently in the analyses.

Specifically, I aim to uncover inter- and intra-systemic factors that may play a role in variation, along with social factors relating to the individual speakers and their speech communities.

CHAPTER 3: Theory and methodology

1.0 Introduction

The present chapter describes the theoretical framework and methodology adopted in this dissertation. I begin with a discussion on variationist theory, its origins and its application in sociolinguistic research. Next, I introduce the notion of the linguistic variable and how it has served as a useful heuristic in the study of grammatical variation and change. I then provide some basic information concerning variationist methods, including statistical analyses of data and various synchronic and diachronic approaches to examine (possible) language change. This leads to a description of the Franco-Ontarian communities under study as well as the large sociolinguistic corpora from which the data analyzed herein were drawn. This section concludes with a brief overview of linguistic change in French, which has become a more analytic language over the course of its evolution.

2.0 The variationist paradigm

The variationist approach to the study of language owes its origins to the pioneering work of William Labov on the island of Martha's Vineyard (1963/1972a) and in New York City (1966). Taking the speech community as the locus of linguistic inquiry, Labov provided convincing evidence for the structured (non random) heterogeneity of linguistic variation. That language is heterogeneous in nature and constrained by both linguistic and social factors became a central element to the empirical foundations for a theory of language change outlined by Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968).

The methodological innovations introduced in Labov's (1963/1972a) study of sound change in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, brought to the fore the relationship between variability and change. Labov constructed a corpus of recorded natural speech from 69 Vineyarders whom he categorized by community, occupation, age, ethnicity and sex. Labov examined the relative centralization of the vowels (aw) and (ay) in words like 'mouse' and 'mice'. He discovered that vowel centralization was constrained by both linguistic factors and social factors in a structured way. With respect to linguistic factors, centralization was favoured or disfavoured to varying extents depending on the type of preceding or following consonant. Thus, centralization was not a haphazard process but one that was influenced by the linguistic environment surrounding the vowel. In terms of social conditioning, different frequencies for centralization were obtained according to age, community and occupation. Speakers aged 31 to 45 years old, the second youngest cohort of speakers, had the highest rates of centralization as compared to all older cohorts of speakers ranging from 46 to 75 years old. The differential rates of centralization according to age led Labov to suggest that in Martha's Vineyard English vowel centralization represented a change in progress and that speakers in the second youngest cohort were the leaders of this change. He also observed that the change in question was socially motivated: speakers who lived in the area of Chilmark, the site of the traditional fishing industry, and speakers most loyal to local identity showed the highest levels of centralization. According to Labov, these speakers' comparatively higher centralization indexed their orientation towards island living and, concomitantly, symbolized their resistance to encroaching mainland values. The results of his study reinforce the fact that language variation has sociolinguistic meaning and that "one cannot understand the

development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs" (Labov 1972a: 3).

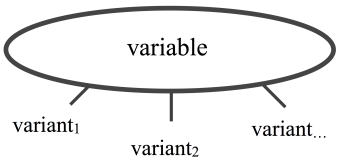
Since the 1960s, researchers working within the variationist paradigm have made many advances in our understanding of the social meaning of variation. Eckert (2012) characterizes variationist sociolinguistics as involving three (non-successive) 'waves'. First-wave studies typically rely on pre-defined demographic characteristics, such as age, sex, social class and ethnicity, and aim to uncover how these categories correlate with patterns of language use. For example, Labov (1966) found that in New York City English, post-vocalic (r) correlated with social class: speakers at the higher end of the social hierarchy had higher rates of (r); conversely, speakers at the lower end had lower rates. The second wave of variation studies tends toward an ethnographic approach. Rather than introduce a set of pre-determined social factors into the analysis, studies which incorporate second-wave methodology identify social categories which are meaningful at the local level.[25] L. Milroy's (1980) analysis of phonological variation and its relation to social networks in Belfast, Ireland, provides another example of second-wave variationist work. Lastly, third-wave studies examine small-group (sometimes individual) variation, focussing on the construction of group identity through language and other sociosymbolic systems, such as gesture, attire and patterns of voluntary association. For instance, Bucholtz (1999) observed a cohort of 'nerd girls' in a California high school and found that they exploited formal and standard language variants, which they valued as positive identity practices, to create their nerd identity.

[25] Indeed, this was already present in Labov's study of Martha's Vineyard, where elevated levels of vowel centralization were found for speakers who displayed a positive orientation towards island life.

3.0 Variationist methodology

3.1 Linguistic variables

An essential methodological innovation introduced in Labov's early work (e.g., Labov 1966) was the linguistic variable, an abstract construct which represents some area of a language where variation takes place, such as in the lexicon, phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax or discourse-pragmatics. A linguistic variable comprises two or more variants which can be taken as "alternate ways of saying the same thing" (Labov 1972b: 188; see also Walker 2010 and Tagliamonte 2012). The relationship between a linguistic variable and its variants is roughly schematized as follows:



The notion of the linguistic variable was applied in Labov's early work in phonology, for example in his study of the differential rates of use of post-vocalic (r) in New York City (Labov 1966), cited above. It was also extended to other areas of a language where variability is observed, such as in the area of grammatical variation. However, extension of the linguistic variable to studies outside phonology met with early opposition. For instance, Lavandera (1978) contended that while the concept of a linguistic variable is well-suited to the study of phonological variables, as the variants have the same referential value, this is not so for grammatical variables. Lavendera's position was later challenged by a number of sociolinguists (see Labov's own 1978 response) who argued that it is indeed possible to explore grammatical variation because "distinctions in referential value or grammatical function among different surface forms

can be neutralized in discourse" (D. Sankoff 1988b: 153). Recent variationist work (e.g., Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos 2008, cited in King 2012) has shown that when the objective of a study is to uncover the dynamics of grammatical variation and change, it is in fact quite advantageous to delimit the variable context as widely as possible, i.e., to focus on function instead of referential meaning. By way of example, in their study of the evolution of pronouns marking 1PL in Hexagonal French, King et al. (2011) examined use of the 3PS indefinite pronoun *on* 'one', which, over time, took on use as a definite 1PL pronoun and indeed became the dominant 1PL pronominal variant. In sum, despite earlier criticisms, the study of grammatical variation "would now appear to be uncontroversial" (King 2012: 458).

3.2 Fundamentals of variationist methodology

3.2.1 Statistical analyses of data

The type of variationist methodology employed in the quantitative analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 involves testing hypotheses regarding the constraints on variation presented by a number of linguistic and social factors, in the spirit of Weinreich et al. (1968).

Since linguistic variation is systematic, it can be modelled and analyzed using statistical methods. The aim is to determine whether or not the occurrence of a form in a particular environment is statistically significant or simply due to chance. In the present dissertation, I test for statistical correlations in the data by way of multivariate analyses standard to variationist sociolinguistics. I use the statistical program Goldvarb (D. Sankoff et al. 2005) which analyzes the data through main-effect, multiple logistic

regression and identifies the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables (factor groups) which influence its behaviour.[26]

Goldvarb produces three lines of evidence which serve as the basis for interpreting the statistical findings (Tagliamonte 2006; for related discussion, see also Walker 2010). The first is the factor weight (FW), a measure of the statistical probability that a given variant will be selected when certain conditions are met. Values greater than 0.5 indicate that a particular condition or context favours the selection of a variant and values below 0.5 signal a disfavouring effect. The second is the relative magnitude of these effects, as evidenced by the range that obtains between the highest and lowest probabilities for one factor group. The greater the range, the greater the contribution of that factor group. The third line of evidence is the hierarchy of constraints, which represents the order of ranges from strongest to weakest for each of the statistically significant factor groups.

An important insight from such methods is that the results of quantitative analyses consistently show that all language and language varieties are rule-governed. With respect to minority languages or stigmatized language varieties, evidence can be adduced in support of an orderly system that governs these languages and indeed such evidence can, in turn, be used to combat negative stereotypes about them (Labov 1972b; Sankoff 1988a; Bayley 2002). As Ontario French has been – and still is – a stigmatized variety of French, empirical research conducted within this framework can be viewed as a contribution to its (re)valorization.

[26] Other statistical programs are also available for analyzing data in variationist work. See, for example, Johnson (2009) and Gorman and Johnson (2012) for details.

3.2.2 Apparent-time and real-time data

There are two sociolinguistic constructs used for the study of language change (Labov 1994; Bailey 2002). The first, known as the apparent-time construct, relies on data collected at a single point in time. This is exemplified in Labov's (1966) landmark study of New York City's Lower East Side, based on a corpus of data which is stratified according to various social factors, including speaker sex, age, social class and ethnicity. If, for example, the frequency of use of linguistic variants is shared by speakers of all age brackets, then there is an argument for a case of linguistic stability. However, if the frequencies of use differ across age brackets, these differential rates of frequency may be suggestive of a change in progress.

One classic example of a change inferred using the apparent-time approach is Cedergren's (1973, reported in Labov 1994: 94–97) study of CH-lenition in Panama City Spanish. Cedergren examined the alternation between the voiceless affricate [č] and the voiceless fricative [š], the incoming variant, in words such as *muchacha* 'young woman' [mučača] in a corpus stratified for seven age groups. She found that lenition exhibited a monotonic relationship with age: speakers 27–32 years of age had a lenition rate of roughly 60% whereas speakers aged 73 or more had a lenition rate of only approximately 20%. However, the apparent-time pattern observed in Cedergren's study only *suggests* that CH-lenition represents a change in Panamanian Spanish. In order to ascertain whether or not a change has definitely taken place, it is necessary to repeat the same study using data collected at a second point in time (Labov 1994). This is the chief reason for comparing real-time data – to confirm linguistic change.

The earliest known real-time study is Hermann (1929), which investigated the use of five phonological variables in the French-speaking village of Charmey, Switzerland. Hermann examined the same variables which had been analyzed 24 years earlier in a study conducted by Gauchat (1905) in the same village. In comparing the data for both time periods, Hermann was able to confirm that for three of the five variables, change had indeed taken place or had even come to completion. Similarly, Cedergren returned to Panama City in 1982, some 13 years after the first survey, and replicated her study of CH-lenition (Cedergren 1988). She found a similar monotonic slope for age and also found that lenition had progressed, increasing in frequency at approximately 10%–15% for four age groups (33–42, 43–52, 53–62, 63–72; see Labov 1994: 95, Figure 4.8a). The findings from the new study confirmed that the change predicted to be taking place in apparent time was indeed a case of real-time change.[27]

3.2.3 Trend versus panel studies

Real-time investigations of linguistic phenomena can be carried out in one of two ways, either as a trend study or as a panel study (Labov 1994; G. Sankoff 2005, 2006). Trend studies are based on data which have been collected in the same community and, ideally, from the same types of speakers, at some point subsequent to an initial sampling. Hermann's (1929) study of Charmey French is a trend study: he returned to the same Swiss village where Gauchat (1905) had conducted his earlier study and sampled the

[27] Other real-time studies prominent in the literature include Brink and Lund (1979) for Danish in Copenhagen; Blondeau (2006), G. Sankoff and Blondeau (2007) and Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff (2011) for French in Montréal; and Blake and Josey's (2003) and Pope et al.'s (2007) replication of Labov's study of sound change in Martha's Vineyard.

local population one generation later. The real-time component of the analyses presented in the ensuing empirical chapters is a trend study.

Panel studies, on the other hand, track the linguistic behaviour of the same speakers over time. Such longitudinal studies are more challenging to carry out and certainly rarer than trend studies; for example, there is no guarantee that the initial consultants, if located, will want to participate in another interview. However, the importance of this particular method in the study of language change is highlighted very clearly in a recent study of rapid change from apical to dorsal /r/ in Montréal French (G. Sankoff and Blondeau 2007). Using data from a trend sample of speakers, the authors found that the innovative dorsal variant had undergone a massive increase in frequency between 1971 and 1984, from 68.5% to 92.5% for the younger speakers (15–24 years old) and from 34.3% to 74.9% for the oldest speakers (25–61 years old). In addition, they pursued the analysis further in order to trace the trajectory of the dorsal variant in the speech of individual speakers. The results of their panel study corroborated those of the trend study – that a change was indeed in progress in the wider community – and revealed that a number of speakers had also increased their use of the dorsal variant across the 13-year period. An important finding of the Montréal panel studies (G. Sankoff and Blondeau 2007 and Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2012), is that individuals can, and often do, alter their linguistic usage across the lifespan.

3.3 Variationist research: Then and now

Labov's original studies and the methods he used to understand variation and change in varieties of American English soon became a model for other scholars pursuing research

on an array of language varieties in the United States and beyond. For instance, Wolfram's (1969) study of African American speech in Detroit was one of the earliest variationist studies. It was followed by Cedergren (1973) for Panamanian Spanish, D. Sankoff and G. Sankoff (1973) for French in Montréal, Trudgill (1974) for English in Norwich, UK, and Naro (1981) for Brazilian Portuguese.

Since those early years, the variationist paradigm has guided work on language varieties spoken around the globe, including visual languages such as American Sign Language (Bayley et al. 2000), as a perusal of recent handbooks of sociolinguistic research makes clear (e.g., Chambers et al. 2002; Bayley et al. 2012). In addition to the large body of work on unilingual speech communities, variationist methods have also provided a framework for the analysis of language-contact phenomena in multilingual communities, for example Poplack (1980) on Puerto Rican Spanish-English code-switching in New York City and Mougeon and Beniak (1991) on the linguistic consequences of French-English contact in minority francophone communities in Ontario. Some 35 language varieties are reported in the program for the 44th annual meeting of the premier variationist conference *New Ways of Analyzing Variation* (NWAV), held in Toronto in the fall of 2015, a testament to the diversity of studies centred on language variation and change in unilingual and multilingual communities worldwide.

4.0 Sociolinguistic corpora for Ontario French

4.1 Ontario francophone communities: Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke

The province of Ontario is home to Canada's largest francophone population outside of Québec, as noted in Chapter 2. According to 2001 census data (Table 3.1) roughly 4.5% (509,264 individuals) of the province's population claimed French as a mother tongue.[28] Whereas the total population of French speakers in the province has effectively increased between 1981 and 2001 (+9% change), their proportion relative to the total population of the province has decreased by 1% (from 5.5% to 4.5%).

	Total population		French as a mother tongue					
	1981	2001	1981		2001		Change	
			N	%	N	%	N	%
Ontario	8,534,260	11,285,545	467,855	5.5	509,264	4.5	+41,409	+9
Community								
Hawkesbury	9,880	10,315	8,355	85	8,278	80	–77	–1
Cornwall	46,145	45,640	15,965	35	12,103	27	–3,862	–24
North Bay	51,270	52,770	8,545	17	7,454	14	–1,091	–13
Pembroke	14,025	13,490	1,185	8	806	6	–379	–32

TABLE 3.1 French as a mother tongue: Ontario, Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke (adapted from Mougeon et al. 2006: Tables 1.2–1.3)

French-speaking populations of various concentrations (Map 1) are dispersed over a sizeable portion of the province, spanning an area between Windsor (point 1) in the far southwest corner to the northern community of Hearst (point 18). Within the province, the *Office des affaires francophones* recognizes five distinct regions: North West, Centre, South West, North East and East (OAF 2015). The corpora of Ontario French used in the present dissertation comprise interviews from speakers residing in the North East and East regions, which are home to the greatest concentrations of French speakers.

[28] Following past practice, I cite the results of the 1981 and 2001 censuses because they are closest to the years during which the 1978 and 2005 corpora data were collected.

Specifically, interviews were conducted in Hawkesbury (point 8), Cornwall (point 7), North Bay (point 11) and Pembroke (point 9). The vast majority of Francophones in these four communities are of Laurentian extraction, resulting from successive waves of immigration from Québec during the 19th and 20th centuries.

MAP 3.1 Concentration of French-speaking communities across Ontario (Source: Mougeon and Beniak 1991: Chapter 2)

The figures displayed in Table 3.1 show that in 1981 the status of French in each community ranged from strong majority (Hawkesbury) to minority (Cornwall and North Bay) to weak minority (Pembroke). This same pattern persists some 20 years later in 2001, yet with a notable decline in French mother tongue speakers recorded in each locality. Moreover, census data on the maintenance of French in the home also reveal that over the same period, the proportion of Francophones who have shifted to English has risen substantially in the three minority communities, while in the majority community

this proportion remains stable and marginal (see Table 3.2). However, this rise does not necessarily entail a concomitant and proportionate decline in the number of parents who send their children to the local French-medium schools, since French mother tongue parents who no longer communicate in French at home retain the constitutional right to enrol their children in a French-medium school. In fact, a survey of all the grade 9 and grade 12 students enrolled in the local French-medium schools (carried out in 2005 and replicating a similar survey carried out in 1978, see Mougeon et al. 2006) revealed that the number of students whose parents spoke to them mostly or only in English had increased substantially. Put differently, in the three minority communities the number of francophone parents who have delegated to the school the responsibility of transmitting French to their children has risen dramatically over the three decades separating the two surveys.

	Hawkesbury	Cornwall	North Bay	Pembroke
1981	96%	71%	58%	35%
2001	95%	52%	41%	30%

TABLE 3.2 Use of French as the language of the home in Ontario (1981 and 2001) (adapted from Mougeon et al. 2006: Tables 1.8–1.12)

In the majority community of Hawkesbury the number of Francophones who maintain French at home has remained quite high and stable from 1981 to 2001. This is not to say, however, that all Hawkesbury adolescents are shielded from contact with English. While no language-use survey was carried out in the local French-medium high school in 1978, the 2005 survey revealed that close to 15% of the students in grade 9 and grade 12 reported communicating with their friends as often in English as in French and 5% of them did so mostly or only in English. The same survey revealed that in their part-time jobs, over 40% of the students reported communicating either as often in French as

in English or more often in English than in French. In addition, according to the 1981 and 2001 censuses, the proportion of Francophones aged 10 to 19 years who claimed to be able to converse in both French and English rose from 64% to 82% whereas those who claimed the ability to converse only in French declined from 36% to 18%. Thus, although French continues to be the dominant language of communication among francophone adolescents in Hawkesbury today, the number of students who use English in daily communication has likely risen over the past three decades.

4.1.1 Mougeon & Beniak 1978 corpus of Ontario French

In 1978 Raymond Mougeon and Édouard Beniak (Mougeon and Beniak 1991) constructed a corpus of recorded interviews comprising 400,243 words for adolescents (mostly 9th and 12th graders) in the communities of Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke, Ontario, with a view to assess the extent to which differential levels of (dis)use of French and contact with English might impinge on these speakers' spoken French.[29] A total of 117 francophone students (see Table 3.3) volunteered to participate in a face-to-face interview, roughly one hour in length, with a native speaker of French not known to the interviewees. The adolescents were recorded in the school but in a room where the speaker and interviewer were undisturbed. The interviews touched on a variety of topics, designed to tap both casual and (semi-)formal speech (Labov 1994). Moreover, by including (semi-)formal topics in the interview, Mougeon and Beniak aimed to record data relating to the speakers' sensitivity to the standard norm and propensity to style shift.

[29] A minority of 10th and 11th graders (the former interviewed at the beginning of the school year and the latter at the end of the school year) were also included in the sample.

The participants were all adolescents (14–18 years of age) enrolled in a French-medium school in one of the four communities. A characteristic unique to the speakers interviewed in 1978 is that they are in effect the first generation to have benefited from the changes to the provincial Education Act, adopted in the late 1960s, which enshrined the right to French-medium schooling for Ontario's francophone minority at both the elementary and secondary school level (grades 1–13 in the public school system; grades 1–10 in the Catholic school system) (Mougeon and Heller 1986). In addition to being stratified according to speaker sex and social class, each speaker is also categorized according to her or his relative frequency of use of French (versus English) in daily life (e.g., at home with his/her parents, with his/her siblings, with his/her friends, out of home with his/her parents, on the school premises, etc.).[30] Frequency of use of French is measured as a global index ranging along a continuum from 100% of the time to 0% of the time. Speakers who rank between 80% and 100% on the continuum are categorized as unrestricted; those who rank between 45% and 79% are categorized as semi-restricted; and, finally, those who rank 44% or less are categorized as restricted speakers (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: Chapter 4).[31] The sociodemographic characteristics of the 117 speakers are provided in the following table:

[30] The socioeconomic class assigned to each adolescent speaker reflects the highest occupation of either parent. Three fixed levels of social class are recognized, each of which corresponds to a range of socioeconomic scores presented in Blishen et al. (1987): middle class (> 0.60), lower-middle class (0.40 – 0.59) and working class (< 0.40).

[31] Frequency of use of French was determined by each speaker's self-reported use of the language in interpersonal communication. The survey questions (for 1978 and 2005) that served to measure frequency of use, and thus to decide on each speaker's category of language restriction, are included in Appendix A.

			Hawkes-bury	Cornwall	North Bay	Pembroke
Restriction	**Sex**	**Class**				
Unrestricted	M	Middle	1	2	1	0
		Lower-Middle	2	2	2	1
		Working	3	3	1	0
	F	Middle	4	1	0	0
		Lower-Middle	5	1	0	0
		Working	4	1	1	1
		Total	19	10	5	2
Semi-restricted	M	Middle	1	1	1	3
		Lower-Middle	0	5	4	2
		Working	0	2	2	4
	F	Middle	0	1	1	0
		Lower-Middle	0	5	4	2
		Working	0	2	6	2
		Total	1	16	18	13
Restricted	M	Middle	0	0	2	1
		Lower-Middle	0	3	2	5
		Working	0	6	1	0
	F	Middle	0	1	0	1
		Lower-Middle	0	2	2	4
		Working	0	0	1	2
		Total	0	12	8	13
		Grand Total	20	38	31	28

TABLE 3.3 Sociodemographic characteristics of speakers in the Mougeon & Beniak 1978 corpus of Ontario French

Table 3.3 shows that 20 speakers were interviewed in the majority French community of Hawkesbury, 19 of which were unrestricted speakers of French and one semi-restricted speaker (the sole semi-restricted speaker's use of French is in fact just shy of the unrestricted range). In Cornwall, a total of 38 interviews were conducted with speakers who fall into three restriction categories: 10 unrestricted speakers, 16 semi-restricted speakers and 12 restricted speakers. There are 31 interviews for the town of North Bay involving 5 unrestricted speakers, 18 semi-restricted speakers and 8 restricted speakers. Lastly, the sub-corpus for the weak minority community of Pembroke contains

28 interviews from 2 unrestricted speakers, 13 semi-restricted speakers and 13 restricted speakers.

The number of words contained in the sub-corpora for all four communities in 1978 is as follows:

Hawkesbury	57,334
Cornwall	134,109
North Bay	96,526
Pembroke	112,274
Total	400,243

With respect to language restriction, the three-way categorization established for the 1978 corpus captures overall frequency of use of French in interpersonal communication rather than level of proficiency in the language. Though the latter has been found to correlate with the former, the two are not coterminous. In some cases, for example, the use of a particular linguistic variant correlates sharply with each category on the continuum of language restriction, whereas in other cases, no such correlation obtains at all (see Chapter 4 in Mougeon and Beniak 1991 for further information on these two measures).

The operationalization of the measure of frequency of language use, or language restriction, as a sociolinguistic variable has shed light on the dynamics of language behaviour in the Ontario French communities. The body of research produced with the 1978 corpus by Mougeon and his colleagues addresses a number of linguistic phenomena, including analogical levelling of irregular forms, English interference in the grammar of French, quantitative distributions of vernacular versus standard forms, and more. Most importantly, it has been shown in previous research based on the 1978 corpus that relative degree of language restriction regularly influences language use.

4.1.2 Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2005 corpus of Ontario French

While the Mougeon & Beniak 1978 corpus constitutes a valuable corpus for the study of linguistic variation at one point in time, one of its limitations is the inability to infer language change in accordance with traditional sociolinguistic practice (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 88). Since the adolescent consultants are situated within the same age bracket, it is not possible to compare the results for this group with those for speakers belonging to different age groups in the same communities, i.e., using the apparent-time construct. Despite the absence of stratification of speakers according to age, the 1978 corpus did make it possible to investigate 'change' from two related perspectives: 1) departure from an internal community norm and 2) departure from the ancestral variety of Laurentian French (i.e., Québec French). In a bilingual setting such as the ones under investigation in this dissertation, the internal community norm or benchmark would be that represented by the speech of the speakers in Hawkesbury. In other words, the majority community is taken as the "conservative norm" (Dorian 1981: 116). Accordingly, due to its strong francophone population, the linguistic patterns uncovered in the data for Hawkesbury can serve as a benchmark of Ontario French against which patterns found for speakers in Cornwall and North Bay (the minority communities) and for those in Pembroke (the weak minority community) may be compared. Qualitative or quantitative departures from the benchmark observed in the data for the minority communities may be interpreted as evidence of linguistic change (Mougeon and Beniak 1991). As for departures from the ancestral variety, these can be documented by comparing the findings from research on the 1978 corpus with those from comparable research on Québec French. The latter variety is of interest because, in comparison to its

Ontarian counterpart, it is less exposed to contact with English and is used in settings where normative pressure is higher.

Again, studies based on the apparent-time construct only allow the analyst to draw inferences regarding possible changes in progress. Labov (1994) argues that the only truly reliable way to confirm or reject change is to conduct research within a real-time framework, i.e., to study language usage in a community at more than one point in time. One major objective of the present dissertation is to provide evidence to confirm potential cases of change in the communities under study. The real-time component of the empirical chapters is made possible by the availability of a second corpus of Ontario French constructed in 2005, some 28 years after the initial data collection. The time span separating the corpora is of a sufficient duration for linguistic developments to have arisen or progressed in the francophone communities, since the two cohorts are a generation apart (in fact, some speakers interviewed in 2005 are the children of parents who had been interviewed in 1978). What is more, in keeping with trend-study methodology, the adolescents interviewed for the 2005 corpus share similar social profiles with those of the original 1978 corpus and also reside in the same four communities. In order to maximize comparability, most of the topics broached during the 1978 interview were also discussed in the 2005 interview, although some questions were modified to reflect current reality. The new corpus, which is much larger than the original, contains recordings for 182 speakers. As was the case for the speakers interviewed in 1978, those interviewed in 2005 are coded for the same social categories (speaker sex, social class and language restriction). A breakdown of the 182 speakers according to their locality, sex, social class and language restriction is shown in Table

3.4. To enhance inter-corpora comparisons, the details of the 2005 corpus are displayed alongside those of the 1978 corpus:

			Hawkes-bury		Cornwall		North Bay		Pembroke	
			1978	2005	1978	2005	1978	2005	1978	2005
Restriction	**Sex**	**Class**								
Unrestricted	M	Middle	1	6	2	4	1	0	0	0
		Lower-Middle	2	6	2	0	2	1	1	0
		Working	3	6	3	1	1	1	0	0
	F	Middle	4	6	1	3	0	0	0	0
		Lower-Middle	5	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
		Working	4	7	1	0	1	0	1	0
		Total	19	37	10	8	5	2	2	0
Semi-restricted	M	Middle	1	3	1	5	1	1	3	0
		Lower-Middle	0	2	5	4	4	5	2	0
		Working	0	2	2	1	2	1	4	0
	F	Middle	0	3	1	2	1	2	0	0
		Lower-Middle	0	3	5	6	4	3	2	0
		Working	0	0	2	3	6	5	2	0
		Total	1	13	16	21	18	17	13	0
Restricted	M	Middle	0	0	0	3	2	5	1	3
		Lower-Middle	0	0	3	5	2	6	5	12
		Working	0	0	6	2	1	5	0	2
	F	Middle	0	0	1	3	0	6	1	3
		Lower-Middle	0	0	2	6	2	8	4	8
		Working	0	0	0	3	1	1	2	3
		Total	0	0	12	22	8	31	13	31
		Grand Total	20	50	38	51	31	50	28	31

TABLE 3.4 Sociodemographic characteristics of speakers in the Mougeon & Beniak 1978 corpus of Ontario French and the Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2005 corpus of Ontario French

The number of words contained in the sub-corpora for all four communities in 2005 are as follows:

Hawkesbury	377,050
Cornwall	274,824
North Bay	265,121
Pembroke	176,662
Total	1,093,657

It was noted above that French has lost ground as a mother tongue in each of the Franco-Ontarian communities (see Table 3.1). Outside the majority French community of Hawkesbury, French has also receded as the language of the home, especially in the

minority communities (see Table 3.2). The progressive decline in the use of French in these domains is also reflected in the distribution of speakers along the continuum of language restriction in the 2005 corpus.

French continues to thrive both within and outside the home in Hawkesbury. Notwithstanding a modest decline of 5% in the population of speakers whose mother tongue is French, 95%–96% of households report being French speaking in the 1981 and 2001 censuses. However, of the 50 informants interviewed in 2005, 13 are semi-restricted speakers, with the remaining 37 unrestricted users of French. The proportional rise of the semi-restricted cohort of adolescents is also supported by census data. Between 1981 and 2001, the percentage of speakers aged 10 to 19 years of age whose mother tongue is French but who identified themselves as bilingual rose from 64% to 82% whereas those who spoke French exclusively declined from 36% to 18% (Mougeon et al. 2006). In sum, while French persists as the dominant language in Hawkesbury today, exposure to English has increased in various ways.

In the minority community of Cornwall, use of French is still sufficiently strong at the local level for there to be a pool of unrestricted speakers in the 2005 corpus, despite declines in French as a mother tongue (from 35% to 27%) and as the language of the home (from 71% to 52%). Of the 51 speakers in the Cornwall 2005 sub-corpus, 8 are unrestricted (16% of speakers for this community), as compared to 10 (26% of speakers) in the 1978 sub-corpus. As for the remaining categories of restriction, 21 speakers are classified as semi-restricted and 22 speakers as restricted. While the overall distribution of semi-restricted speakers remains unchanged (42% of the sample in 1978 versus 42% in

2005), this is not the case for the distribution of restricted speakers, which grew from 32% (n=12/38) to 43% (n=22/51).

As for North Bay, the second minority community, there are very few unrestricted speakers represented in the sub-corpora: 2 in 2005, down from 5 in 1978. There does remain a reasonably sized contingent of semi-restricted speakers in the 2005 sub-corpus, 34% (n=17/50), but this represents a decline in proportion when measured against the equivalent cohort in the 1978 sub-corpus, 58% (n=18/31). The bulk of the interviews in the North Bay 2005 sub-corpus come from restricted speakers. Out of a total of 50 speakers, 31 (62%) are now in the restricted category. Like the sub-corpora for Cornwall (1978 and 2005), those for North Bay are composed mainly of interviews with semi-restricted speakers and restricted speakers. The differences in distributions of speakers according to language restriction are, for both North Bay and Cornwall, a likely consequence of the changes in French-language use in the home and in the local community.

In the weak minority community of Pembroke, shift toward English is certainly more pronounced than in the other communities surveyed. While the decline of French as a mother tongue (from 8% to 6%) and as the language of the home (from 35% to 30%) does not appear dramatic in absolute terms, these percentages are already lower (i.e., in terms of the overall strength of French in the community) than those reported for the minority communities (Cornwall and North Bay) and the majority community (Hawkesbury). The increased favouring of English at the expense of French is perhaps most evident in the overall distribution of speakers. In the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus, there are no unrestricted or semi-restricted speakers (respectively, 2 and 13 in the 1978

sub-corpus): the entire group of 31 adolescents interviewed in 2005 are all English-dominant, restricted users of French.

In addition to investigating change in the adolescent speech corpora across time, I also examine the potential effect of educational input. Included in the Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2005 corpus are recordings of approximately 50 minutes in duration of 59 teachers in their classrooms. The sub-corpus of student-teacher interventions comprises approximately 496,720 words.

For each teacher recorded, a number of social and other characteristics were noted, such as sex, age, place of birth and subject taught. These details are provided in Table 3.5 below.

	Hawkesbury	Cornwall	North Bay	Pembroke
Sex				
Male	8	8	9	5
Female	6	8	7	8
Age[32]				
20-29	4	5	8	2
30-49	5	9	6	10
50+	5	2	1	1
Origin				
Ontario	12	11	16	7
Québec	2	4	0	4
Other province	0	1	0	1
Other country	0	0	0	1
Subject				
French	6	5	3	2
Other	8	11	13	11
Total	14	16	16	13

TABLE 3.5 Sociodemographic characteristics of teachers in the Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2005 corpus of Ontario French

[32] The age of one North Bay teacher is not known.

The number of words contained in the teacher sub-corpus is as follows:

Hawkesbury	124,825
Cornwall	125,925
North Bay	122,256
Pembroke	123,714
Total	496,720

Access to the classroom recordings offers an important and novel dimension to research on the 2005 corpus, as no other corpus of this kind has been designed to examine linguistic variation in the French-language classroom. While there exist a number of corpora which have been collected in educational settings (e.g., Douglas Biber's corpus of spoken and written academic English; see Biber 2006), these have not been submitted to variationist analyses.

In many of the studies based on the 1978 corpus, the researchers have observed that the French of restricted speakers tends to exhibit more monostylistic behaviour than that of the other groups. As a consequence of their limited exposure to the local vernacular in conjunction with heightened exposure to standard French in the school, restricted speakers may not acquire vernacular structures typically found in communities where French is more widespread (see Mougeon 2005 for examples of 'devernacularization' among the restricted speaker group). In prior work on the 1978 corpus, it has been suggested that the standardized nature of restricted speakers' French is ascribable to educational input. For example, in his study of nonstandard subject NP doubling (e.g., *mon père il part*, 'my father he leaves'), Nadasdi (1995) found that this structure is least frequent in the speech of restricted speakers (17%, versus 25% for semi-restricted speakers and 41% for unrestricted speakers). To explain the low rate of the nonstandard feature in the data for restricted speakers, Nadasdi (1995: 11) suggests that it

is because these speakers' exposure to French "is limited to a scholastic setting, where Standard French is the observed model". Mougeon and Beniak (1991: Chapter 7) arrive at a similar hypothesis in a study focussed on the alternation between the standard preposition *de* and the nonstandard preposition *à* in marking possession (e.g., *le chien de / à ma mère*, 'My mother's dog'). They found that restricted speakers never used the nonstandard variant (n=0/26). In contrast, the nonstandard variant was used 19% of the time by unrestricted speakers (n=10/52) and 21% of the time by semi-restricted speakers (n=11/52).

As the 1978 corpus does not contain recordings of teachers' French language use in the formal learning environment, hypotheses related to whether or not educational input plays a role in increased standardization of speech cannot be tested. However, with the data from the 2005 corpus of teacher input, it is now possible to empirically verify whether the pedagogical input to which restricted speakers are exposed can influence patterns of language use. As will be seen in the analyses presented in Chapters 4 and 5, data drawn from the corpus of teacher input provide valuable insight into the influence of educational input on the spoken French of the adolescent population.

4.1.3 Some limitations on sociolinguistic corpora

It is important to address one important limitation of the sociolinguistic corpora. We must keep in mind that such corpora are not all equal in design: some are comprised of (semi-) structured interviews shaped by a protocol that aims to elicit a range of speech styles, while others are more free ranging to the point of recording unprompted and spontaneous speech. In addition, the social context of the interview may differ, perhaps the

consultants' home or some other (un)familiar setting. Irrespective of design, degree of spontaneity or social context, the sociolinguistic interview ought to be viewed as part of, rather than the whole of, a speaker's linguistic repertoire. Consequently, if some feature(s) of a given language is absent or underrepresented in a corpus, this may be because during the interview the right conditions were not in place to produce them. By way of example, in a large sociolinguistic corpus of 720,000 words of Belfast English, Henry (2005, cited in King 2012) counted only three occurrences of the *after* perfect (e.g., "Aye I'm just after getting it cut", Henry 2005: 1609, ex. 39). That the presence of this syntactic structure is minimal in the corpus is not an accurate reflection of its status in the community – it is, in fact, a well-known feature of this variety of English; rather, it is more probable that the consultants were not in an interactional context which promoted use of the *after* perfect.

A similar situation arises in the Franco-Ontarian corpora. The interviews conducted in 1978 "lasted from about thirty minutes to one hour and aimed at tapping as natural and unreflecting a style of speech as could be obtained in the context of a semi-directed face-to-face interview on the school premises" (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 70). The same procedure was also followed for the recording of the students' interviews in 2005 (Mougeon et al. 2008). In both cases, discussions were led by an interviewer who was guided by a set of questions to which the adolescents were invited to respond. Many of the questions posed in the 1978 interviews made reference to distal futures (after a 24-hour period), for example, "Est-ce que tu prévois des changements dans le monde de l'an 2000?" ('Do you foresee changes in the world in the year 2000?'). Comparable questions were also posed in the 2005 interviews, such as "Dans une centaine d'années penses-tu

que la Terre va être plus polluée, moins polluée?" ('In a hundred years or so, do you think the Earth is going to be more polluted or less polluted?'). However, the questionnaire did not encourage discussion of proximal future times (within a 24-hour period). This provides some explanation as to why, in Chapter 5, which presents the findings for the expression of future temporal reference, such futures are infrequent in the statistical analyses – 2.2% (n=21/932) of future references in the 1978 corpus and 5% (n=84/1696) in the 2005 corpus. In other words, features of the sociolinguistic interview itself must be considered when analyzing the sociolinguistic patterns uncovered.

5.0 Linguistic change in French

5.1 Cycle of syntheticity to analyticity

Finally, the present study is informed by the sociolinguistic and historical linguistic literature on change in French. One major distinction between Latin and contemporary Romance languages is their respective morphological structures. Latin possessed a rich system of declensions (marking case) and inflectional endings marking person, number and tense characteristic of a more synthetic language. Most Romance languages have evolved into more analytic languages. In other words, for such languages grammatical information tends to be expressed with independent words more so than through affixation (see Schwegler 1990). For instance, where morphological case markers identify the grammatical relationship among the words in a sentence in Latin, this function is fulfilled in contemporary French by prepositions and word order, as in (1):

(1) Latin: Terram agricolarum puella amat
land-ACC farmers-GEN girl-NOM love-3PS.PRES
French: 'La fille aime la terre des fermiers.'
English: 'The girl loves the farmers' land.'

While French still makes use of inflectional verbal morphology, the tendency towards analyticity since the post-Classical Latin period has resulted in either the loss of temporal, modal and aspectual synthetic constructions or a decline in their use due to competition with an analytic counterpart (Gougenheim 1929/1971; Harris 1978; Posner 1997). One case typically adduced to exemplify the loss of a synthetic paradigm in French is the *passé simple* or simple past, which ceased to be productively used during the 17th century (Martin 1971; Fournier 1998).[33] As can be seen in (2), the conjugations of the *passé simple* marked simultaneously person, number and tense:

(2) Je parlai. — I speak-1SG.PST — 'I spoke.'
Nous parlâmes. — We speak-1PL.PST — 'We spoke.'

Over time, the synthetic variant gave way to the *passé composé* (present perfect) which, as an analytic alternative, is composed of an auxiliary and a past participle, as in (3):

(3) J' ai parlé. — I have-1SG.PRES PPART — 'I have spoken.'
Nous avons parlé. — We have-1PL.PRES PPART — 'I have spoken.'

The loss of the *passé simple* is not an isolated case of change to affect the French system of tense, mood and aspect. As will be shown in Chapter 5, the rise in use of the periphrastic future at the expense of the inflected future provides an additional example of the move toward greater analyticity in the evolution of French.

[33] However, see Comeau et al. (2012) for a study of past temporal reference in a variety of Acadian French in which the simple past is productive.

CHAPTER 4: Mood choice in Ontario French

1.0 Introduction

The present chapter investigates mood choice with verbal matrix constructions for which the subjunctive mood is prescribed but varies with other verb forms, chiefly the present indicative mood. I begin with a general description of modality and its relationship to mood. I then provide an overview of grammatical commentary concerning mood choice in the French language since the 17th century (i.e., the Classical French period). This section then leads to a synthesis of the results from contemporary research which has examined mood choice in several varieties of French spoken throughout the Francophonie. A large portion of this synthesis focuses on prior variationist studies based on data for Laurentian and Acadian varieties of Canadian French. This includes a review of the main findings concerning the frequency of use of the subjunctive as well as the linguistic and social factors that influence variability. Finally, I present the results of the analyses for the Franco-Ontarian communities, beginning with the results for the social factors and then for the linguistic factors.[34] I conclude this section with an in-depth examination of the use of verb *falloir* 'must, to need to', the most important subjunctive governor in Canadian French, and demonstrate that subjunctive usage in Ontario French largely depends on this verb, which certain speakers avoid by expressing necessity with an alternative structure.

[34] Non-verbal constructions do not figure into the final analysis, but their distributions are provided in Appendix C.

1.1 Modality and mood

The three basic grammatical categories of the verb phrase are tense, aspect and modality. Where tense reports the time of an event relative to the moment of speech and aspect describes the temporal unfolding of an event, modality is "concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event" (Palmer 2001: 1). Modality, then, relates to a speaker's attitude towards a proposition. It can convey a broad range of nuances of meaning, including epistemic and deontic notions, attitudes, opinions, (non-)factivity, evidentiality, possibility, necessity, volition, directives, and more. These meanings are not mutually exclusive and may in fact coincide. Where modality relates to the semantics of a proposition, mood is the morphosyntactic marking of modality. In general, mood is marked morphologically on the verb, but it may also be expressed by modal verbs (e.g., as in English 'may', 'might', 'could', etc.) or by a combination of modal verbs and verbal morphology (Palmer 1986, 2001; Siegel 2009).

Different languages may mark different moods. For instance, Ancient Greek had four moods (indicative, subjunctive, imperative, optative), Standard Finnish has four moods (indicative, imperative, conditional, potential) as does Standard Amharic (indicative, imperative, interrogative, optative). The French language recognizes three moods – the imperative (e.g., *pars!*, 'leave!'), the indicative (*il part*, 'he leaves') and the subjunctive (*qu'il parte*, 'that he leave'), all of which were inherited from Latin.[35] Of primary interest in the present chapter is the alternation between the subjunctive and indicative moods in subordinate clauses. I adhere to Siegel's (2009: 1860) definition of

[35] Certain uses of the French conditional are also modal in nature. For example, in the sentence *un incendie aurait éclaté dans le village* 'a fire may have broken out in the village', the past conditional (*aurait éclaté*, lit. 'would have broken out') provides an evidential reading according to which a fire is reported to have broken out, but this information is not yet confirmed. Grevisse and Goosse (2008: §889 R1) note that the French conditional is generally not regarded as a mood on its own.

the subjunctive as "the appearance of particular morphology […] in the complement of certain verbs."

In the theoretical literature, there is some debate as to what the functions of the subjunctive, as opposed to the indicative, actually are. Some linguists have criticized the view that choice of mood is made according to a binary opposition of realis (indicative) and irrealis (subjunctive). Quer (2009: 1779) comments that this well-known opposition is "crude" and "of little use" whereas Giorgi and Pianesi (1997: 205) consider it inadequate on empirical grounds because it does not capture crosslinguistic variation. As an example, Standard French prescribes the imperfect indicative (realis) in a hypothetical protasis with *si* 'if', whereas other Romance languages such as Faetar, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese require the subjunctive (irrealis).

A number of contemporary scholars (e.g., Giorgi and Pianesi 1997; Abouda 2002; Rowlett 2007) adopt a distinction between the indicative and the subjunctive that pertains to the evaluation of an embedded proposition in terms of degree of assertion. According to this classification, the indicative is selected in clauses with assertive force and the subjunctive in those with non-assertive force. Giorgi and Pianesi (1997: 205) maintain that "... the distinction between the indicative and the subjunctive is to be connected to the way languages classify evaluation contexts as similar or different, respectively, to that of assertions." In their view, degree of assertion can account for mood choice more generally and, if one considers that not all languages place the same assertive force on the same verbs, can also account for interlinguistic variation in mood selection. For example, affirmative epistemic *penser* 'to think' allows only the indicative in French and so

expresses greater assertion than its counterpart in Italian *pensare*, which can take the subjunctive (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 223).

One last point of discussion with respect to mood choice is whether the indicative or the subjunctive is to be taken as the unmarked, default mood. Along with many other formal linguists, Siegel (2009) argues that the subjunctive is the default mood. She adopts this approach because it helps to explain the occurrence of "recalcitrant realis subjunctive cases" (2009: 1862), for instance the use of the subjunctive in French after factive emotive matrix verbs (e.g., *ça me plaît que* 'it pleases me that'). However, I follow the approach taken by Abouda (2002) and Rowlett (2007) whereby, in French, indicative (which they associate with the semantic feature [+ASS(ERTIVE)]) is the unmarked, default mood.[36] The merit of the latter approach is that it allows for the surface realization of subjunctive morphology only once it has been triggered by specific matrix contexts that have non-assertive force.[37]

2.0 History of the subjunctive mood in French

2.1 Overview of grammatical commentary

The subjunctive – which, for French, may also be called 'optative' or 'conjunctive' (Megreit 1550/1969; Chifflet 1659/1973) – expresses an "uncertain epistemic attitude" (Farkas 1992: 71) with respect to an evaluation of the embedded proposition. In general, it is triggered after certain matrix constructions that signal a lack of commitment to the reality of an outcome, uncertainty, possibility, volition, fears, necessity, supposition, orders, refusal, non-assertion, among other affective, epistemic and subjective nuances.

[36] The indicative is typically more frequent than the subjunctive crosslinguistically.

[37] See Rowlett (2007) for the syntactic structures associated with mood selection after verbal and non-verbal matrix constructions.

Grammarians and linguists (e.g., Imbs 1953; Soutet 2001; Rowlett 2007) have attempted to define the range and types of contexts that govern selection of the subjunctive in French. Structurally, the subjunctive (SUBJ) may occur in embedded clauses following a lexical verb (4), a verbal collocation (5), certain conjunctions (6), as well as in a number of other specific contexts such as restrictive relative clauses (7) and superlatives (8):

(4) Il **se peut** que mon père ait $_{SUBJ}$ raison.
'It is possible that my dad is correct.'

(5) Il **est possible** qu'Olaf lise $_{SUBJ}$ le roman.
'It is possible that Olaf reads the novel.'

(6) Marie-Hélène l'a fait **sans que** je m'en aperçoive $_{SUBJ}$.
'Marie-Hélène did it without my knowing.'

(7) David cherche un médecin **qui** sache $_{SUBJ}$ parler français.[38]
'David is looking for a doctor who may know how to speak French.'

(8) Geneviève **est la plus belle** femme que je connaisse $_{SUBJ}$.
'Geneviève is the most beautiful woman I know.'

There is a long history of variation in mood choice in the embedded clause in French. This is illustrated in Table 4.1, which was constructed based on Fournier's (1998) classification of mood choice in Classical (17th century) French.

[38] According to Posner (1997: 211), use of the subjunctive after restrictive relatives whose head is indefinite is rare in colloquial French today.

SUBJUNCTIVE[39]
Always selected
(au)paravant que
afin que[40]
avant que
de peur/ crainte que
devant que
falloir
non que
premier que
Frequently selected
after negated or questioned verbs of knowing or opinion, e.g., *savoir*, *croire*, *dire*, *voir* • SUBJ is usual (epistemic value); IND to express probability (likelihoods)
aimer, *craindre*, *regretter*, *souhaiter*, *désirer*, *se plaindre*, *s'étonner*, *être ravi que*[41] • SUBJ is usual (prescribed in Modern French); IND is possible, but criticized by grammarians
il est possible que, *il se peut que* • SUBJ is usual (epistemic value); IND to express probability (likelihoods)
il semble que • SUBJ is usual; IND is possible to express an implicitly held belief
qui que, quoi que, quel que, quelque… que, où que • SUBJ is usual (prescribed by grammarians); IND is rare
vouloir, *ordonner, prétendre*, *permettre*, *consentir*, *empêcher*, *défendre* • SUBJ is usual; IND is possible in specific contexts (e.g., non human antecedent, embedded verb expresses a constant state or has a declarative meaning)
SUBJUNCTIVE OR INDICATIVE
après que
au lieu que • SUBJ for unrealized event; IND for actual outcome
comparative, e.g., *plus (moins, si, aussi, autant)... que* • SUBJ for subjective evaluation; IND is usual
concessive: *quoique, bien que*, *encore que* • SUBJ is usual, for non-assertion; IND for assertion
de sorte/ façon/ manière que • SUBJ for potential outcome; IND for established outcome
être, *trouver* + adjective of opinion (*triste, plaisant, étrange, dommage, remarquable,*

[39] For translations of the verbal and non-verbal matrix constructions, see Appendix D.

[40] The semantic equivalent *pour que*, widely recognized as the most frequent subjunctive-selecting conjunction in Modern French, does not occur in Fournier's corpus of 17th-century literary texts. Until the classical period, *pour que* was considered informal and thus avoided by authors of the time.

[41] Haase (1965: 184) observes that until the classical period affective contexts (e.g., *être heureux*, 'to be happy) and verbs of feeling and appreciation occurred primarily in the indicative because they expressed an objective fact. It was during the 17th century that use of the subjunctive began to increase.

admirable) + *que*
il suffit que • SUBJ for non-assertion; IND for assertion
jusqu'à ce que/ *jusqu'à tant que* • SUBJ for non-assertion; IND for actual outcome
sans que • SUBJ for non-assertion, unrealized event; IND for assertion
si/ tant/ tel/ tellement X que • SUBJ for potential outcome; IND for established outcome
superlative, e.g., *être le plus X que*, *être un des plus X que, être un des premiers X que, être le seul X que, etc.* • SUBJ for subjective evaluation; IND for factive
tant que • SUBJ for potential outcome; IND for durative action
verbs of opinion in the affirmative: *croire*, *penser* • SUBJ is possible for non-assertion; IND is the usual mode

TABLE 4.1 Subjunctive-selecting matrix constructions reported in Fournier (1998) for 17th-century French[42]

Apart from a few exceptions (e.g., *falloir*, 'must, to need to'), most structures used during the classical period admitted, to varying extents, subjunctive or indicative to communicate nuances of meaning. Mood choice reflected the degree of assertion placed on the proposition of the embedded clause. However, during the 17th and 18th centuries, grammarians introduced corrective measures to halt "les fantaisies individuelles", or speaker whim (Nyrop 1930/1979: 317), and, accordingly, "the choice of mood in the subordinate clause was mechanized to a considerable extent" (Levitt 1967: 59). In light of interventions on the part of grammarians, as well as the *Académie française*, "some of the syntactic features of the modern standard language can, at least in part, be attributed to rulings by... linguistic authority, rather than being the result of a natural evolution" (Rowlett 2007: 7).

[42] Matrix constructions that governed only the imperfect subjunctive or pluperfect subjunctive are excluded from this table. See Fournier (1998) for details.

Today, contemporary normative French grammars continue to allow variation in mood after certain matrix constructions such as *il arrive que* 'it happens that' and *le fait que* 'the fact that'. In examples such as these, mood choice is dependent on the degree of assertion that the speaker wishes to express with respect to the proposition in the dependent clause.

Most often, though, grammars tend to prescribe a binary choice of mood in the subordinate clause, as shown in Table 4.2. As a result of grammarians' interventions, or so it seems, the subjunctive came to be obligatory in a number of contexts, for example with affective verbs expressing surprise, joy, fear, regret, etc. (Wartburg 1962: 173; Haase 1965: 184); the conjunctions *jusqu'à ce que* 'until' (Haase 1965: 183, Price 1971: 247, Nyrop 1930/1979: 323), *bien que* and *quoique* 'although' (Price 1971: 248; Nyrop 1930/1979: 325) as well as *sans que* 'without' (Haase 1965: 192); and also with superlatives (Haase 1965: 179). It is worth noting that in spoken and written French, the subjunctive has also made inroads after conjunctions for which the indicative alone is prescribed, such as *après que* 'after', *dès que* 'as soon as', *alors que* 'while, whereas' and *depuis que* 'since' (Di Vito O'Connor 1997; Soutet 2000).[43]

SUBJUNCTIVE[44]
Always selected
(à ce) que je sache
à moins que
attendre
avant que
ce n'est pas que
ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise
concessive, e.g., *si/ aussi/ quelque* + adjective + *que, pour* + adjective + *que, quelque*

[43] Grevisse and Goosse (2008: §1137 a 1°) also comment on the increased use of the subjunctive after *après que* in the works of prominent 20th-century writers, in spite of grammarians' proscription. Soutet (2000) identifies *après que* + subjunctive as a sign of the spread of the subjunctive in French.

[44] For translations of the verbal and non-verbal matrix constructions, see Appendix D.

+ noun + *que*; *encore que, malgré que*
consentir
d'ici à ce que
de façon à ce que, de manière à ce que
douter, *il est douteux que*
empêcher • but IND for *(il) n'empêche que, cela n'empêche pas que*
en admettant que, en supposant que, supposé que, à supposer que
en attendant que
en dépit que (rare)
expressions of appreciation: *trouver incongru que, considérer comme normal que, sembler* (interrogative), *paraître étrange que*, *être juste que*, *être remarquable que*, *être merveilleux que*, *être inutile que*
faute que
gare que
il n'est pas (il n'y a pas) jusqu'à…
il n'y a pas moyen que
il suffit que
je ne sache pas que (rare: *on ne sache pas que*, *nous ne sachons pas que*)
jusqu'à tant que
n'avoir de repos/ répit/ paix/ cesse que
necessity, order, pray, desire, wish, permit, prohibit, prevent*: il faut/ importe/ convient que, il est nécessaire que, avoir besoin que, nécessiter, ordonner, demander, désirer, souhaiter, permettre, autoriser*, *défendre, interdire*
negative expressions, e.g., *il est impossible, il est exclu que, nier, contester, ne pas s'apercevoir*
permettre
possibility, e.g., *il est possible que*, *il peut se faire que*
pour peu que
pourvu que
prendre garde que
purpose, e.g., *afin que, pour que, pour pas que* (informal)*, à la seule fin que, à cette fin que, de crainte/ peur que, par crainte/ peur que*
quel que (as an attribute)
qui que (as an attribute)
quoi que, où que, comment que (rare expression)
regretter
s'attendre à ce que
sans que
si tant est que
tenir à ce que
the second of two conjoined conditional clauses with *que* (see fn. 50)
veiller à ce que
verb + *à ce que*
when an observation, certainty, likelihood or probability is negated or questioned, or in

an interrogative or conditional clause, e.g., *il n'est pas* + adjective of certainty *(sûr, certain, vraisemblable, probable*) + *que, il est peu probable que, croire* (e.g. *crois-tu que*), *avoir de la peine que*
Frequently selected
expressions with a restrictive adjective, e.g., *le seul/ dernier X que*
c'est dommage que, il est dommage que, dommage que, quel dommage que
verb + *de ce que* • SUBJ is frequent for expressing feelings
dire (negative) • SUBJ is frequent with 1st person
dire, crier, écrire, téléphoner , faire signe que, prétendre, *suggérer, décider, arrêter, décréter, exiger, ordonner* • SUBJ when expressing an injunction; IND when declarative
expressions that convey doubt or negation in negative clauses: *il n'est pas douteux que*, *il ne paraît pas douteux que*, *il n'y a aucun doute que*, *nul doute que*, *il n'y a pas de doute que, ne pas douter, ne pas nier, ne pas se dissimuler, ne pas disconvenir* • IND is logical; preferred *il est hors de doute* • SUBJ not logical; criticized
interrogative relatives, e.g., *est-il un trésor qui vaille le sommeil?* 'is there a treasure that's worth the sleep?'
relatives after a negated matrix verb, e.g., *il n'y a pas de domaine où aient germé plus d'idées* 'in no other domain have more ideas been formed'
relatives in a conditional clause, e.g., s*i vous rencontriez, par hasard, une fille... qui vous plaise* 'if you were to meet, by chance, a girl... who pleases you'
superlatives, e.g., *être le plus X que*, *être le meilleur X que*, *être un des plus X que, être un des premiers X que, etc.*
vouloir • IND to express a simple observation (e.g., *le hasard voulut que* 'fate would have it that')
Usually selected
'by attraction': a clause which is preceded by a clause whose verb is in the subjunctive, e.g., *quoiqu'il prétende qu'ils sachent un peu l'anglais* 'although they claim they know a little English'
à (*la*) *condition que*, *sous* (*la*) *condition que, moyennant que, (pour, en) autant que*
expliquer • SUBJ for non-human subjects; IND for human subjects
faire attention que • SUBJ for expressing a command; IND for issuing a reminder
faire (en sorte) que • SUBJ for animate subjects; IND for inanimate subjects
feelings: joy, sadness, fear, regret, admiration, surprise: *craindre, se réjouir, s'étonner, être regrettable que, être heureux que, désespérer, se plaindre, trouver fâcheux que, être froissé que, l'étonnement que* • IND is more frequent in factives than grammarians admit, even in writing; variability *not* considered

a reflection of classical usage
il arrive que, il advient que, il survient que • IND not possible when the verb is in the *passé simple*
il se peut que
jusqu'à ce que • IND when factive, but *jusqu'au moment* preferred
ma crainte est que, *inquiéter, ennuyer, le malheur est que, il est inadmissible que*
mais que (temporal, like *quand*)
mettre (imperative), e.g., *mettons que je n'aie rien dit* 'let's suppose I said nothing' • SUBJ now preferred by the *Académie Française*
faire (negative or interrogative)
non (*pas, point*) *que*, *pas que*, *ce n'est pas/ point que*
s'attendre
Rarely selected
à preuve que
entendre que
l'idée que, la pensée que
oublier que

TABLE 4.2 Subjunctive-selecting matrix constructions reported in Grevisse and Goosse (2008) for contemporary French[45]

In modern Standard French, variability has been restricted to just a handful of structures. However, there is greater variability in the spoken language, even in contexts where the subjunctive is required. As shown in the following examples, the present indicative (IND), the imperfect indicative (IMP), the conditional (COND) and the periphrastic future (PF) may substitute for the subjunctive (SUBJ) in embedded clauses. When the expression of necessity *falloir* is the matrix verb, we see the indicative (9), the imperfect (10), the subjunctive (11) and the conditional (12). The verb of supposition *admettre* takes the indicative in (13) and the subjunctive in (14) – both examples produced by the same speaker. Finally, the periphrastic future (15) can also appear in contexts which require the subjunctive.

[45] In this list, no distinction is made for spoken versus written usage, formal versus informal usage, dialect, region, etc. Metalinguistic commentary is provided, when available.

(9) Faut que tu **mets** IND (SUBJ: METTES) ton manteau.
'You have to put your coat on.'
(H2-39: unrestricted, working class, female)[46]

(10) Fallait on le **lisait** IMP (SUBJ: LISE) des fois en classe.
'We had to read it sometimes in class.'
(H2-27: unrestricted, middle class, female)

(11) Il a fallu qu'on **attende** SUBJ les autres.
'We had to wait for the others.'
(H2-29: unrestricted, middle class, male)

(12) Faudrait que ça **serait** COND (SUBJ: SOIT) quelque chose à trancher.
'It would have to be something to sort out.'
(H2-29: unrestricted, middle class, male)

(13) Admettons que je m'en **vas** IND (SUBJ: AILLE) à un *party*.
'Let's say that I'm going to a party.'
(H2-02: unrestricted, lower-middle class, male)

(14) Admettons que ma femme **soit** SUBJ d'origine anglaise.
'Let's say that my wife is from an English family'
(H2-02: unrestricted, lower-middle class, male)

(15) Ça se peut que tu **vas** pas **être** PF (SUBJ: SOIS) capable d'atterrir.
'It's possible that you won't be able to land.'
(C2-32: restricted, middle class, male)

In fact, the selection of forms other than the subjunctive in prescribed contexts leads linguists such as Posner (1997: 211) to call into question the productivity of the subjunctive mood in speech: "the subjunctive does carry with it an aura of refinement, and so can induce hypercorrect usages, but whether it today contributes to the semantics of the sentence is open to doubt". In other words, if other verb forms (e.g., the indicative

[46] Examples produced by speakers in the corpora are coded for community (H=Hawkesbury, C=Cornwall, N=North Bay, P=Pembroke), corpus year (1=1978, 2=2005) and speaker number, followed by category of language restriction, social class and speaker sex.

or conditional) are allowed, then the matrix constructions themselves carry the semantic information that is traditionally associated with the subjunctive. This is in keeping with a longstanding debate as to whether the subjunctive in French, much like the function of the subjunctive in Latin (Binnick 1991: 67), is simply a marker of subordination, or whether it is productively used to convey speaker attitude.

In the literature, there has also been much discussion on the gradual decline of the French subjunctive from the language. There is considerable diachronic evidence for a decline in its use and in its scope (Haase 1965). In earlier stages of French, it was possible to use the subjunctive in main clauses (Spillebout 1985: 221; Posner 1997: 209; see also Soutet 2000). Such usage is, however, no longer productive and is limited to a small number of fixed expressions such as *à Dieu ne plaise* 'God forbid', *advienne que pourra* 'come what may' and *ainsi soit-il* 'so be it' (Williams 1885: 1; Nyrop 1930/1979: 310). In contemporary varieties of French, the subjunctive is found almost exclusively in dependent clauses.[47]

The subjunctive in Standard French once had four conjugations, three for the past – the present perfect (16), the imperfect (17) and the pluperfect (18) – and one for the present (19):

(16) Il a fallu que l'enfant **ait** **appris**.
It was necessary that the child has-PRES.SUBJ learn-PPART
'It was necessary that the child learned.'

(17) Il fallait que l'enfant **apprît**.
It was necessary that the child learn-IMP.SUBJ
'It was necessary that the child was learning.'

[47] This may involve both presence and absence of the *que* complementizer. For further information on this variable in Laurentian French, see G. Sankoff et al. (1971), Martineau (1988) and Dion (2003); for Acadian French, see King and Nadasdi (2006).

(18) Il fallait que l'enfant **eût** **appris**.
It was necessary that the child has-PLP.SUBJ learn-PPART
'It was necessary that the child had learned.'

(19) Il faut que l'enfant **apprenne**.
It is necessary that the child learn-PRES.SUBJ
'It is necessary that the child learn.'

According to Dauzat (1958: 219), in Hexagonal French (i.e., French in France) the pluperfect subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive began their decline during the 17th century and were arguably lost from urban speech by the end of the 18th century (Dauzat 1950: 146). Substitution of the present subjunctive for the imperfect subjunctive, for example, was subject to harsh criticism by grammarians of the time: "Ce temps est celui qui est le plus négligé par ceux qui ignorent les règles de la Grammaire, & il est commun d'entendre dire tous les jours *Il fallait que je travaille à cela*, au lieu de dire : *Il fallait que je travaillasse à cela*"[48] (Antonini 1753: 329, italics original). Certain contemporary grammarians continue to lament the loss of the imperfect subjunctive (e.g., Wartburg 1962).

On the other hand, Nyrop (1930/1979: 336–339) writes that the decline of the imperfect subjunctive dates only from the 1800s. In any case, despite differing claims as to the time at which the decline began, some suggest that the verbal morphology played a role. For example, Dauzat (1950: 146) writes "On a beaucoup disserté sur l'impression désagréable et ridicule que donne aujourd'hui [l'imparfait du subjonctif]... *fassiez,*

[48] This tense is the most neglected by those who ignore the rules of grammar. It is an everyday occurrence to hear *Il fallait que je travaille* [present subjunctive] *à cela* instead of *Il fallait que je travaillasse* [imperfect subjunctive] *à cela*' (my translation).

fassions ne choquent pas, tandis que *chantassions, chantassiez* déplaisent" (1950: 146).[49] Other commentary cited by Nyrop indicates that the imperfect subjunctive fell out of favour and eventually became "an affirmation of pedantry" and even a "dishonour to style". In most varieties of contemporary French, the pluperfect and imperfect subjunctive are confined only to formal written genres. However, this is not the case for all varieties of spoken French. For example, use of the imperfect subjunctive has been documented in the spoken French of Île-aux-Coudres, Québec (Seutin 1975); persists in Guernsey Norman French (Jones 2000); and remains highly productive in Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia (Comeau 2011).

In addition to the loss of the pluperfect and imperfect subjunctive conjugations from most varieties, there has also been a decline in the number of matrix constructions that govern the subjunctive mood. By way of example, the subjunctive was replaced by the indicative in indirect questions during the 12th century (Haase 1965: 175; Kukenheim 1967: 95); in the protasis clause of conditionals containing *si* 'if' in the 16th century (Chifflet 1659/1973: 126; Dauzat 1930: 453);[50] and after affirmative verbs of thought (e.g. *présumer* 'to presume', *penser* 'to think', *croire* 'to believe') in the 17th century (Haase 1965: 186). In some cases the subjunctive is impossible because certain governors have been abandoned, such as *combien que* 'though', *devant que* 'before', *comme ainsi soit que* 'since it is true', among others (Chifflet 1659/1973; Haase 1965).

[49] Much has been written about the unpleasant and ridiculous impression that the [imperfect subjunctive] gives today... *fassiez, fassions* do not shock, whereas *chantassions, chantassiez* are distasteful (my translation).

[50] Grevisse and Goosse (2008: §1157) note that the subjunctive is still preferred in the second of two conjoined conditional clauses when the latter contains *que*, e.g. *Si je change d'avis et que vous n'en* ***soyez*** pas *d'accord*... 'If I change my mind and you are not in agreement with it...'

Thus, as shown by the facts presented above, the French subjunctive has undergone change over the course of the centuries. It is no longer used in independent clauses, other than in fixed expressions, and it has lost two conjugations. It has also been replaced by the indicative after certain main clause constructions and it has lost some of its uses as a result of the disappearance of former governors that once required it. Moreover, in some cases the subjunctive has lost its freedom to co-vary with the indicative according to intended meaning, as is the case of affirmative *croire* and *penser*. It must be kept in mind, however, that much of the above discussion is based on (prescriptive) commentary rather than systematic longitudinal studies of change in language in use.

The relative frequency of use of the subjunctive (versus the indicative) has been argued to have declined in 20th-century spoken colloquial French. A number of grammarians and linguistic commentators in France maintain that the subjunctive is in decline and/ or is being threatened by other verb forms, chiefly by the indicative and conditional, and to a lesser extent by the imperfect and the future. Brunot and Bruneau state "[p]lus ou moins abandonné par la langue populaire, le subjonctif est devenu un mode littéraire"[51] (1953: 286) and Foulet notes that "… le subjonctif [se rapproche] de plus en plus de l'indicatif… Dans la langue de la conversation, cette évolution est très avancée"[52] (1965: 204–205) and that "[l]e subjonctif [...] est de moins en moins fréquent dans la langue courante (dont il ne saurait du reste disparaître complètement)… ".[53] With

[51] More or less abandoned by the popular language, the subjunctive has become a literary mood (my translation).
[52] The subjunctive is becoming more and more like the indicative... in the spoken language, this evolution is very advanced (my translation).
[53] The subjunctive... is less and less frequent in the spoken language (from which it just might disappear altogether) (my translation).

reference to spoken French in Paris, Bauche (1928: 123) suggests that "[l]e subjonctif tend à disparaître du [langage populaire]",[54] whereas Frei (1929/2003: 252) concludes that "[l]'indicatif tend à triompher du subjonctif".[55] Frei's analysis is based in part on personal letters written by French soldiers during World War One.

However, not all grammarians view the subjunctive as under threat. Brunot (1922: 519) writes "... rien, absolument rien, ne fait prévoir que la forme du subjonctif soit menacée de périr".[56] Nearly nine decades later, Grevisse and Goosse (2008: §894) also reject the possibility that the subjunctive is on the wane: "[o]n parle parfois du déclin du subjonctif à propos du français moderne. Mais cela ne paraît pas fondé".[57]

With regard to semantic productivity, the literature offers a range of opinions. Early on, de Condillac (1775: 203) argues that the subjunctive mostly serves a syntactic function "... les différentes formes du subjonctif sont moins destinées à distinguer les tems qu'à marquer la subordination du verbe de la proposition subordonnées au verbe de la proposition principale".[58] Brunot (1922: 524) expands on this idea, suggesting that "[p]eut-être le subjonctif a plus pâti que profité des règles rigides qu'on a prétendu imposer. En l'exigeant derrière une principale négative sans considération du sens, on en réduisait l'emploi à un fait de pure subordination grammaticale, on vidait le mode de sa valeur réelle, et on en préparait l'abandon".[59] For Brunot, then, the establishment of fixed

[54] The subjunctive tends to disappear from the popular language (my translation).
[55] The indicative tends to triumph over the subjunctive (my translation).
[56] Nothing, absolutely nothing leads one to believe that the forms of the subjunctive are in danger of perishing (my translation).
[57] There is some talk of the decline of the subjunctive in Modern French, but this appears to be unfounded (my translation).
[58] The different forms of the subjunctive serve less to distinguish tense than to show subordination of the embedded proposition to the proposition in the main clause (my translation).
[59] Perhaps the subjunctive suffered more than it benefited from the rigid rules that one claims to have imposed. In requiring it after a negated main clause without consideration of meaning, its use was reduced

rules facilitated the 'erosion' of the subjunctive's meaning, specifically after negated matrix verbs (perhaps even according more influence to grammatical prescription than might be warranted). In other words, with no semantic function, the subjunctive is left with only a syntactic one. Foulet (1965: 206) holds that the subjunctive and indicative are essentially semantic equivalents, yet he does appear to espouse the idea that the subjunctive mood enjoyed a greater degree of semantic productivity during the medieval period (11th–15th centuries): "... le subjonctif n'est le plus souvent aujourd'hui dans la conversation qu'un simple substitut de l'indicatif [...] La plupart des définitions qu'on a proposées du subjonctif moderne conviennent au subjonctif médiéval".[60]

As noted above, the possibility that the subjunctive once had but has now lost the nuances of meanings ascribed to it is discussed by Posner (1997). She writes that if the subjunctive in modern French does not contribute to the semantics of the sentence, this represents "a change since Latin, and probably since Old French" (1997: 211). As such, in modern French the subjunctive "usually can be viewed as merely an agreement feature, a *servitude grammaticale*" (1997: 209, italics original). Posner's view is in fact shared by many linguists and grammarians. For example, Gougenheim (1939, cited in Imbs 1953: 57) states that use of the subjunctive is often driven by grammatical convention, which, according to Cohen (1965: 34) and Price (1971: 243), applies to cases in which it is obligatory, as in *je veux qu'il vienne* 'I want him to come'. In examples such as this, it is argued that the main clause construction signals the intended meaning rather than the marking of subjunctive on the subordinate verb.

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to a marker of grammatical subordination, the mood was stripped of its real value, and its loss was set (my translation).

[60] Today, the subjunctive is oftentimes nothing more than a substitute for the indicative in conversation... Most of the definitions that have been proposed regarding the subjunctive in Modern French apply to the subjunctive in Medieval French (my translation).

Though some scholars maintain that the subjunctive does not express or no longer expresses any of the semantic readings associated with it, this is not to say that the mood is without purpose. If it is an essentially subordinate clause phenomenon, the subjunctive may nevertheless serve a syntactic function in contemporary spoken French, that of a marker of subordination (Brunot 1922). Alternatively, since the subjunctive "does carry with it an aura of refinement" (Posner 1997: 211), it may also have expressive value, in that it offers a discursive choice with which to elevate the style of one's language. The subjunctive as a marker of style is discussed by Foulet (1965: 205–206), who writes that the subjunctive is a "procédé de style" and that "[o]n emploiera le subjonctif, après réflexion, là où la langue vivante et spontanée de la conversation mettrait l'indicatif… Les puristes et les gens soucieux de très bien parler emploient dans la conversation plus de subjonctifs que les autres: il y a là une adaptation consciente, et parfois laborieuse, de la langue littéraire au parler de tous les jours."[61]

2.2 Conclusion

The preceding section provided a brief history of the French subjunctive mood based on grammatical commentary. We saw that the subjunctive has undergone some observable changes since the 17th century. For example, irrespective of degree of assertion it is now obligatory in contexts in which it co-varied more freely with the indicative mood. It was also seen that, despite attempts on the part of 17th-century grammarians to 'fix' mood choice, other verb forms continue to be used in lieu of the subjunctive (e.g., with

[61] One uses the subjunctive, after reflection, where the language of spontaneous conversation selects the indicative... Purists and those who care to speak well use more subjunctives in conversation than anyone else: it is a conscious, and sometimes laborious, adaptation of the literary language in everyday spoken language (my translation).

expressions of surprise) in contemporary French. In addition, grammarian commentary shows that there remains a lack of consensus with respect to the subjunctive's role and frequency in French, especially in the spoken language. Some scholars have argued that the subjunctive is a semantically productive mood whereas others see its function as syntactic or stylistic. There is also considerable debate as to whether use of the subjunctive in general is in decline in the spoken language. As shown below, many of these same questions have also been addressed in contemporary sociolinguistic research.

3.0 Previous contemporary research

The previous section shows that a range of issues related to the evolution, use and function(s) of the French subjunctive have interested grammarians and linguists for quite some time. However, it is only recently that variable use of the subjunctive mood has been the object of quantitative and variationist research. To date, the bulk of the existing research involves data from sociolinguistic corpora for varieties of French spoken in Canada. These studies have examined variable use of the subjunctive in Laurentian communities, such as minority communities in Ontario (Laurier 1989), the Ottawa-Hull/Gatineau region (Poplack 1990, 1992, 1997, 2001; Poplack and Levey 2010; Poplack et al. 2013) and in Québec (Auger 1988; St-Amand 2002); as well as in Acadian communities, such as Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia (Comeau 2011) and Newfoundland (Chauveau 1998).[62] There also exists a small number of quantitative studies that have investigated the subjunctive in spoken Hexagonal French (Gougenheim et al. 1964;

[62] In 2002, five adjacent municipalities – Aylmer, Buckingham, Gatineau, Masson-Angers and Hull – merged to create the city of Gatineau, Québec. Data collected before amalgamation are considered to be from Hull (e.g., Poplack 1989a) and those collected after it are considered to be from Gatineau (e.g., Poplack et al. 2013).

Blanche-Benveniste 1990, reporting on Lim 1989; Chauveau 1998).[63] The majority of these studies – the exceptions being St-Amand (2002) and Poplack et al. (2013) – examine usage at one particular point in time.

Several of these studies are not, strictly speaking, variationist, since they do not clearly define the variable context, as will be seen below. Despite the differences across the general quantitative studies and variationist studies, they nonetheless provide points of comparison for the present work. I consider the general quantitative work before turning to variationist analyses.

With regard to variationist studies, I first present the findings for subjunctive-selecting verbal matrices, including proportionate distributions, the results for the social factors and those for the linguistic factors. The results of the investigations led by Poplack and her associates for Laurentian varieties figure prominently in this review. Wherever possible, I also include the findings reported in Auger's (1988) study for Québec City French and Laurier's (1989) study of minority French in Ontario. Following this, I present Comeau's (2011) findings for the Acadian variety spoken in Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia. As far as possible, the same general layout is adopted in the presentation of the findings for both varieties of French.

[63] See Jones (2000) and Ferguson (2013) for studies on the subjunctive in the variety of Norman French spoken on Guernsey, one of the Channel Islands situated between England and France. Their studies are not considered in more detail in this overview for different reasons. Jones (2000) compares subjunctive usage in spoken and written French with a focus on matrix constructions that are supposed to trigger subjunctive morphology in this variety. Ferguson's (2013) study, although conducted within a variationist sociolinguistic framework, analyzes a small amount of data (n=100) taken from dependent clauses in which there is variation in mood choice (i.e., categorical contexts were excluded). Furthermore, the primary focus of Ferguson's study is to gauge speaker authenticity in this obsolescing variety of French through an examination of mood choice.

3.1 Quantitative studies of the subjunctive mood

There exists a relatively small number of general quantitative studies of the French subjunctive. They differ from variationist studies in that, while they often report number of tokens and distributions, they either do not adhere to the principle of accountability (Labov 1972: 72) or the variable context is determined by contexts that are prescribed by grammars and not by actual community norms (i.e., contexts in which the subjunctive actually surfaces in the speech of speakers from the communities under study). One additional drawback to the quantitative studies consulted is that they combine results for both verbal and non-verbal constructions. Thus, it is not possible to determine the subjunctive's frequency of use according to type of governor. As the present dissertation is guided by a variationist sociolinguistic framework, studies that also adopted this approach will receive more attention in the sections that follow.

3.1.1 Gougenheim et al. (1964)

Gougenheim et al. (1964) provides the earliest known account of actual subjunctive usage in a corpus of contemporary spoken French. The corpus comprises audio recordings that strongly resemble sociolinguistic interviews in that the sample is stratified by speaker sex, education and occupation. It contains a total of 312,135 transcribed words from conversations with 275 speakers. The most significant drawback to the corpus concerns the wide geographical representation of its speakers. Some 86 speakers are from Paris, 56 have unknown origins, and the remaining 133 speakers are from either other areas in France (e.g., Midi, Normandie, etc.) or other French-speaking countries (e.g., Algeria, Canada, Switzerland and French Guyana). No conclusions can be drawn with

respect to variable behaviour for a particular social category because variation by social factors is not quantified.

In addition, Gougenheim et al.'s (1964) treatment of the subjunctive presents one other methodological concern. Though the authors distinguish unambiguous cases of the subjunctive (n=447) from ambiguous ones (n=229), they do not identify precisely which of the ambiguous tokens were in fact indicatives selected in subjunctive-selecting contexts or which were verbs for which the indicative and subjunctive conjugations are identical. In other words, the authors grouped together two types of data: examples in which the indicative occurs after a subjunctive-selecting matrix verb (e.g., *il faut qu'elle part* $_{IND}$ vs. *il faut qu'elle parte* $_{SUBJ}$ 'it is necessary that she leave(s)') and examples in which the indicative and subjunctive conjugations are identical (e.g., *il faut qu'elle parle* $_{IND/SUBJ}$, 'it is necessary that she speak').[64] This method is not compatible with the one adopted in variationist studies, which include verb forms embedded under subjunctive-selecting matrices as part of the variable context and which exclude all cases of indicative/ subjunctive homophony.

Nonetheless, the general patterns of subjunctive usage identified in Gougenheim et al. (1964) should be mentioned here due to similarities with those observed in variationist studies for Laurentian varieties (see Section 3.2 below). For example, Gougenheim et al. (1964) report that *falloir* (n=308) is the most frequently occurring subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix construction and *pour que* 'so that' (n=52) is the most frequently occurring subjunctive-selecting non-verbal matrix construction. As will be shown below, this is also the case for Canadian varieties of French. Other subjunctive-

[64] Refer to Tables 4.7 and 4.8 below for conjugations of these verbs in the subjunctive and indicative.

selecting verbal matrices include *vouloir* 'to want', *dire* 'to say', *attendre* 'to wait', impersonal expressions with *être* 'to be' (e.g., *il est nécessaire que* 'it is necessary that', *c'est dommage que* 'it's unfortunate that'), *avoir peur que* 'to be afraid that', as well as a number of conjunctions such as *avant que* 'before', *à moins que* 'unless' and *bien que* 'although'. With the exception of *dire* and *bien que*, all of the matrix constructions that Gougenheim et al. (1964) found to govern the subjunctive in their corpus do so as well in the Ontario French corpora (see Appendix B and Appendix C).

3.1.2 Laurier (1989)

Laurier's (1989) study is based on the 1978 Mougeon and Beniak corpus of minority Franco-Ontarian communities in Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke. He reports an overall rate of use of the subjunctive of 62% (n=267/432). However, this result is based on comparison of actual use with prescriptive, as opposed to community, norms (Laurier 1989: 112). For example, in Standard French the subjunctive is prescribed after *convaincre que* 'to convince' to express a doubtful outcome. There is, however, no evidence that this verb governs the subjunctive in *any* variety of French spoken in Canada. Consequently, the rate of 62% must be interpreted with caution as it probably deflates the actual proportion of subjunctive usage.

What is more, it is important to take into account that Laurier's figure involves use of the subjunctive in all four Franco-Ontarian locales, independent of community or level of language restriction. That said, Laurier does report the rates of subjunctive usage for each restriction category: restricted speakers select the subjunctive least (47%, n=35/75), semi-restricted speakers pattern close to unrestricted speakers (63%,

n=118/186) and, finally, the highest rate of frequency was for unrestricted speakers (67%, n=114/174). On the basis of this correlation, Laurier suggests that the low rate of use of the subjunctive among restricted speakers in particular represents a case of simplification that is accelerated due to the decline of French in favour of English. In other words, according to Laurier, reduced use of the subjunctive mood constitutes a change motivated by contact with English. This claim will be revisited in a new analysis of the 1978 data in ensuing sections.

3.1.3 Blanche-Benveniste (1990)

A second corpus-based study of the subjunctive in France is referenced in Blanche-Benveniste (1990), a member of the *Groupe Aixois de Recherches en Syntaxe* (GARS) at the Université de Provence. She reports that Lim (1989), in an unpublished master's thesis, found 452 tokens of subjunctive in 27 hours of recorded spoken French.[65] Note, however, that Blanche-Benveniste does not provide the number of tokens which could potentially be in the subjunctive. In light of this lacuna, it is not possible to determine the validity of Blanche-Benveniste's (1990: 197) claim that in France "... le mode subjonctif n'est pas du tout moribond ni même en passe de l'être".[66]

3.1.4 Chauveau (1998)

Chauveau (1998) presents an analysis of mood choice in three varieties of French, two in North America and one in Europe. Specifically, he examines data for French in the Port

[65] The region(s) represented in the GARS corpora are not identified. Françoise Gadet (p.c.) notes that linguists in France are generally not concerned with geographical region because, as a result of widespread morphological levelling, the effect of region on morphosyntactic variability is, at best, limited. Whether or not Hexagonal French displays such variability has not, however, been tested empirically.

[66] The subjunctive mood is not at all moribund, nor is it in the process of becoming so (my translation).

au Port region of western Newfoundland, in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, a French overseas territory located off the south coast of Newfoundland, and finally in the province of Brittany, France. For the Newfoundland data, Chauveau found the subjunctive to be used at an overall rate of 51% (n=57/111). For the data for Saint-Pierre and Miquelon and Brittany, he calculated a rate of use of 66% (n=59/89) in the former and 5% (n=2/43) in the latter. The relative frequency of use of the subjunctive calculated for each community leads Chauveau to suggest that the subjunctive is in decline in all three locales. However, it must be noted that his conclusions are supported by rather dubious evidence. All of the data are drawn from sample sentences found in dictionaries, not from sociolinguistic corpora of natural speech. For example, the data for Newfoundland come from excerpts from folklore recordings in a dictionary compiled by Patrice Brasseur (Brasseur 1995); those for Saint-Pierre and Miquelon come from Brasseur and Chauveau's (1990) dictionary of regionalisms; and, lastly, those for Brittany come from Pichavant's (1978) dictionary of words and expressions from the Douarnenez region. Whether or not attestations provided to exemplify dictionary entries constitute a representative sample of usage in the communities under study is highly debatable. Furthermore, the number of tokens available for analysis for the three communities is quite limited.

3.2 Variationist studies of the subjunctive mood: Laurentian varieties

Much of the research on the French subjunctive in Laurentian varieties of French in Canada has been produced by researchers at the University of Ottawa (Poplack 1990, 1992, 1997, 2001; St-Amand 2002; Poplack and Levey 2010; Poplack et al. 2013). Their

studies are based on one or a combination of large sociolinguistic corpora of speech collected in the Ottawa-Hull/Gatineau region and in rural Québec at three different points in time: 1) mid 20th century, *Récits du français québécois d'autrefois* (RFQA) (Poplack and St. Amand 2009); 2) late 20th century, Ottawa-Hull corpus (Poplack 1989a); and 3) early 21st century, *Le français en contexte: milieux scolaire et social* (Poplack and Bourdages 2005). These studies tend to examine mood choice using all the data contained in one corpus (e.g., Poplack 1992) or subsets of data from multiple corpora (e.g., St-Amand 2002). In the review that follows, priority will be given to Poplack (1997) for the findings for social factors and to Poplack et al. (2013), which is the most current (re)analysis of the linguistic factors examined in all three corpora.

3.2.1 Proportionate distributions

Poplack et al.'s (2013) study offers the results of a diachronic study of the subjunctive using data collected during the mid 20th century (RFQA), the late 20th century (Ottawa-Hull) and the early 21st century (Gatineau). The distributions for each time period and each corpus under examination are summarized in Table 4.3. Data for the mid 20th century shows that there was considerable variation in choice of the subjunctive versus other verb forms. For verbal constructions, the subjunctive occurred some 59% (n=250/422) of the time. At first glance, this rate of frequency may give the impression that the subjunctive was in decline by that time period.

A comparison of the distributions for the RFQA data and the Ottawa-Hull data reveals that the subjunctive's frequency of use actually increased over the course of the 30 to 40 years separating these corpora. In the Ottawa-Hull corpus, subjunctive-selecting

verbal constructions take the subjunctive 76% of the time (n=1953/2569), an increase of 17% from the RFQA corpus. As for the data that represent the early 21st century, the subjunctive occurs at a rate of 79% (n=663/841).[67] Thus, between the late 20th and early 21st centuries, use of the subjunctive has remained quite stable after verbal constructions.

Location[68]	Rural Québec (RFQA)		Ottawa-Hull		Gatineau	
Data collection period	mid 20th century (1940s–950s)		late 20th century (1982)		early 21st century (2005–2007)	
Type of matrix	N	%	N	%	N	%
Verbal	250/422	59	1953/2569	76	663/841	79

TABLE 4.3 Frequency of use of the subjunctive mood with verbal matrix constructions in Laurentian varieties of French

It is important to stress that proportionate distributions represent a somewhat narrow view into the larger picture of language variability. This is particularly relevant to a study of the subjunctive. Previous variationist research for varieties of spoken French in Canada have demonstrated that, upon closer inspection of the data, a small number of frequent contexts underlie the overall rate of subjunctive usage. The following sections summarize these more finely grained results, including the social and linguistic factors that have been shown to favour selection of the subjunctive.

3.2.2 Social factors

Poplack (1997) presents an analysis of the social factors that contribute to the choice of the subjunctive in the Ottawa-Hull corpus. One of her objectives is to challenge Laurier's (1989) claim that contact with English is responsible for the 'loss' of the subjunctive in

[67] Data for the early 21st-century corpus come from the same Québec neighbourhoods that were surveyed in the 1982 Ottawa-Hull corpus.

[68] The distributions from Auger's (1990) study of mood choice in spoken French in Québec City are not included, as the analysis considers a subset of verbal matrix constructions, namely impersonal expressions (e.g., *falloir* 'must, to need to', *être rare que* 'to be rare'). These results are not directly comparable.

Ontario French. Poplack's analysis consists of an examination of six social factors – speaker sex, socioeconomic class, educational level, age (15–65+), neighbourhood of residence (three in Ottawa, two in Hull) and four levels of English proficiency – with a focus on the last two in order to assess the effect of language contact.[69]

Poplack begins by examining the data in the aggregate, which, she determines, provides little insight into actual variable behaviour. In fact, she argues that such an approach masks the lexical effect of certain verbal matrix constructions, which are not evenly distributed among the different social categories. In an attempt to circumvent the lexical effect in subsequent analyses, she analyzes the various social factors separately in the data assigned to four distinct 'classes' of verbal matrices, which consist of 1) *falloir* 'must, to need to'; 2) *vouloir* 'to want' and *aimer* 'to like'; 3) high frequency matrix constructions that have a low rate of subjunctive usage (e.g., *ne pas penser* 'to not think'); and 4) low frequency matrix constructions that have a variable rate of subjunctive usage.[70]

The multiple analyses Poplack carries out lead her to several conclusions. There is no systematic pattern of variation according to level of education, speaker sex or age. With respect to the latter factor, the absence of a positive correlation suggests that a change is not underway. Thus, in Ottawa-Hull, the subjunctive mood does not appear to be receding in spoken French. In addition, the findings for both neighbourhood and level of English proficiency do not lend support to the proposal that use of the subjunctive is influenced by the language contact situation. For example, speakers residing in the Québec neighbourhoods do not systematically use the subjunctive more than those in

[69] See Auger (1988, 1990) for the influence of social factors on mood choice with specific impersonal expressions in the Québec City corpus.
[70] No example is provided for the fourth class of verbal matrix construction.

Ottawa and speakers with a high level of English proficiency do not systematically use the subjunctive less than those with a low level of proficiency in that language.

	Socioeconomic class			
	Unskilled	Skilled	Sales/ service	Profes-sional
falloir	.45	.53	.47	.69
vouloir / *aimer*	.36	.62	.64	.52
High frequency / Low subjunctive verbs	.56	.47	.42	.58
Low frequency / Variable subjunctive verbs	.50	.51	.42	.68

TABLE 4.4 Variable rule analyses of the contribution of socioeconomic class to the choice of subjunctive mood in verbs embedded under four classes of verbal matrix in Ottawa-Hull French (adapted from Poplack 1997: Table 6)

The only consistent pattern that emerges from Poplack's examination of the role of social factors is that the propensity to select the subjunctive is greatest among professionals, the highest socioeconomic class distinguished, for three out of four classes of verbal matrices (Table 4.4). On the basis of the overall findings for social factors, Poplack rules out both change in apparent time and influence of language contact. Ultimately, she concludes that use of the subjunctive is largely a class-based phenomenon.

3.2.3 Linguistic factors

In the variationist literature, several linguistic factors have been tested to determine their contribution to the choice of the subjunctive mood. These include type of matrix construction (e.g., *c'est triste que* 'it's sad that') or matrix verb (e.g., *vouloir*, 'to want'), embedded verb, degree of assertion (e.g., affirmative, negative, interrogative, etc.), indicators of non-factual modality (e.g., 'maybe'), tense of the matrix verb, use of a modal auxiliary in the matrix clause (e.g., *pouvoir* 'to be able to'), morphological form of the embedded verb (e.g., suppletive or regular), presence or absence of the *que*

complementizer, semantic class of the matrix construction, among many others.[71] Only those factors that are considered in the analyses of the Franco-Ontarian data are summarized below.

3.2.3.1 Type of verbal matrix construction

In previous studies of mood choice in Laurentian varieties of French, one of the most consistent findings is the effect of the type of verbal matrix construction. The subjunctive tends to co-occur with a small number of highly frequent matrix verbs, specifically *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* (Table 4.5). This suggests that use of this mood is constrained in part by lexical considerations.

	falloir		*vouloir / aimer*	
Locality	N	%	N	%
RFQA: mid 20th c. (Poplack et al. 2013)	247/422	59	78/422	18
Ottawa-Hull: late 20th c. (ibid.)	1669/2569	65	372/2569	14
Gatineau: early 21st c. (ibid.)	530/841	63	89/841	11

TABLE 4.5 Proportion of data for *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* in studies of Laurentian varieties

Among all main-clause constructions that select the subjunctive, *falloir* is by far the most common. In sociolinguistic corpora for Laurentian varieties, it makes up well over half of all analyzable tokens of subjunctive-selecting verbal matrices. For example, in the Ottawa-Hull corpus, it accounts for 65% of the entire data set (n=1669/2569) and in the early 21st-century corpus of French in Gatineau, 63% of the entire data set (n=530/841) (Poplack et al. 2013: Table 6). The verbs *vouloir* 'to want' and *aimer* 'to like' are also quite frequent, as they represent 14% (n=372/2569) and 11% (n=89/841) of the data sets for the Ottawa-Hull and Gatineau corpora, respectively.

[71] In this dissertation, I use 'verbal matrix construction' for individual verbs (e.g., *falloir*) as well as for constructions containing a verb (e.g., *être triste que*).

Several studies have found that the highly frequent impersonal verb of necessity *falloir* 'must, to need to' selects the subjunctive at very high rates in speech, ranging from 62% to 94% (Table 4.6). The matrix verbs *vouloir* and *aimer* also have a strong influence on selection of the subjunctive, some 85% to 93% of the time in the late 20th century and early 21st century. Taken together, *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* account for approximately 75% of all occurrences of the subjunctive in corpora for Laurentian varieties and are responsible for the vast majority of the analyzable data.

	falloir		*vouloir / aimer*[72]	
Locality[73]	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Ontario (Laurier 1989)	138/170	81	?	?
Québec City (Auger 1988)	365/389	94	n/a	n/a
RFQA: mid 20th c. (Poplack et al. 2013)	154/247	62	42/78	54
Ottawa-Hull: late 20th c. (ibid.)	1493/1669	89	315/372	85
Gatineau: early 21st c. (ibid.)	498/530	94	83/89	93

TABLE 4.6 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* in studies of Laurentian varieties

The figures in Table 4.6 reveal that use of the subjunctive with the three high-frequency verbs in Ottawa-Hull and in Gatineau is much greater than in the RFQA corpus (mid 20th century). Poplack et al. (2013) found that with *falloir* the subjunctive increased by 32% (mid 20th c.: 62%; late 20th c.: 89%; early 21st c.: 94%); and after *vouloir* and *aimer*, by 39% (mid 20th c.: 54%; late 20th c.: 85%; early 21st c.: 93%).

3.2.3.2 Embedded verb

In Laurentian French, and in present-day Standard French as well, conjugations for the

[72] Since Auger (1988) examined impersonal expressions only, there are no figures to report for *vouloir* and *aimer*. Laurier (1989) does consider these verbs in his analysis, but does not provide the individual results.
[73] I include the results for *falloir* from Laurier's and Auger's studies, despite differences in methodology, as they provide further evidence that this verb is a highly favourable subjunctive-selecting context in Laurentian varieties.

present subjunctive and present indicative are often homophonous (see Table 4.7). For example, the 3SG and 3PL forms belonging to the *–er* class of verbs like *parler* 'to speak' are identical in the indicative and subjunctive. The same ambiguity holds for certain verbs belonging to the *–ir* and *–re* verb classes, such as *partir* 'to leave' and *finir* 'to finish', when they are conjugated in the 3PL. This poses a challenge for any researcher who examines the subjunctive in a Laurentian variety since all cases of homophony are necessarily excluded from the final data set, as outlined below in Section 4.1.

	parler 'to speak'		*partir* 'to leave'		*finir* 'to finish'	
	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive
1SG	*parle*	*parle*	*pars*	*parte*	*finis*	*finisse*
2SG	*parles*	*parles*	*pars*	*partes*	*finis*	*finisses*
3SG	*parle*	*parle*	*part*	*parte*	*finit*	*finisse*
1PL	*parlons*	*parlions*	*partons*	*partions*	*finissons*	*finissions*
2PL	*parlez*	*parliez*	*partez*	*partiez*	*finissez*	*finissiez*
3PL	*parlent*	*parlent*	*partent*	*partent*	*finissent*	*finissent*

TABLE 4.7 Conjugations for the verbs *parler*, *partir* and *finir* in the present subjunctive and the present indicative in Standard French. Conjugations that are phonologically identical within each mood are shown in grey. Conjugations that are phonologically identical across both moods are grouped.

In previous studies it has been found that verbs that have suppletive subjunctive forms – chiefly *être* 'to be', *avoir* 'to have, *faire* 'to do, make' and *aller* 'to go' – are the most likely to occur with distinct subjunctive morphology.[74] According to the conjugations in Table 4.8, these four verbs do not exhibit morphological or phonological ambiguity across the indicative and subjunctive paradigms. Consequently, occurrences of any of these verbs, unlike their more regular counterparts, are rarely subject to exclusion.

[74] Poplack et al. (2013) tested the contribution of the morphological form (suppletive vs. regular) of the embedded verb. They found that for all points in time (mid 20th c., late 20th c., early 21st c.) suppletive verbal morphology is favoured significantly more than verbs with regular forms when the matrix verb is *falloir*. In an analysis of matrix verbs excluding *falloir*, the same pattern emerges only for the late 20th-century data (Poplack et al. 2013: Tables 8–9).

	être 'to do'		*avoir* 'to have'	
	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive
1SG	*suis*	*sois*	*ai*	*aie*
2SG	*es*	*sois*	*as*	*aies*
3SG	*est*	*soit*	*a*	*ait*
1PL	*sommes*	*soyons*	*avons*	*ayons*
2PL	*êtes*	*soyez*	*avez*	*ayez*
3PL	*sont*	*soient*	*ont*	*aient*
	faire 'to do, make'		*aller* 'to go'	
	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive
1SG	*fais*	*fasse*	*vais*	*aille*
2SG	*fais*	*fasses*	*vas*	*ailles*
3SG	*fait*	*fasse*	*va*	*aille*
1PL	*faisons*	*fassions*	*allons*	*allions*
2PL	*faites*	*fassiez*	*allez*	*alliez*
3PL	*font*	*fassent*	*vont*	*aillent*

TABLE 4.8 Conjugations for the verbs *être, avoir, faire* and *aller* in the present subjunctive and the present indicative in Standard French. Conjugations that are phonologically identical within each mood are shown in grey.

Additionally, there is a much greater likelihood that *être, avoir, aller* and *faire* will be selected by a subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix construction because they are the most commonly used verbs in the French language (Gougenheim et al. 1964: 69–113). Table 4.9 shows that in Laurentian varieties these four verbs make up approximately two-thirds of the subjunctive data drawn from sociolinguistic interviews.

	être, avoir, aller, faire		all other verbs	
Locality	N	%	N	%
RFQA: mid 20th c. (Poplack et al. 2013)	248/422	59	174/422	41
Ottawa-Hull: late 20th c. (ibid.)	1635/2569	64	934/2569	36
Gatineau: early 21st c. (ibid.)	551/841	66	290/841	34

TABLE 4.9 Proportion of data for *être, avoir, aller*, *faire* and all other verbs in embedded clauses in studies of Laurentian varieties

Independent of point in time, in sociolinguistic corpora for Laurentian varieties spoken in Ontario and Québec the same four verbs generally display subjunctive morphology more often than all other possible verbs that appeared in the embedded

clause (see Table 4.10). However, the difference in frequency is negligible in the early 21st-century data (80% versus 77%) as compared with the RFQA data (65% versus 35%).

	être, avoir, aller, faire		all other verbs	
Locality	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
RFQA: mid 20th c. (Poplack et al. 2013)	162/248	65	88/174	35
Ottawa-Hull: late 20th c. (ibid.)	1297/1635	79	656/934	70
Gatineau: early 21st c. (ibid.)	441/451	80	222/290	77

TABLE 4.10 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with *être, avoir, aller, faire* and all other verbs in embedded clauses in studies of Laurentian varieties

Moreover, Poplack et al. (2013: Table 7) report that the association between use of the subjunctive and high-frequency contexts has increased over time. For instance, their results for French in Gatineau (early 21st century) show that in the environment of a high-frequency matrix verb (*falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer*) and high-frequency embedded verb (*être, avoir, aller* and *faire*), selection of the subjunctive is now categorical (n=372/376, 99%) as compared with French in Ottawa-Hull some 30 years earlier (93%, n=1197/1288). Outside of the high-frequency matrix verbs and high-frequency embedded verbs, there is a much higher degree of variability in the embedded clause. In the Ottawa-Hull/Gatineau region, there is roughly a one-in-four chance of the subjunctive being selected outside of the highly favourable environments, i.e., for all other combinations of matrix and embedded verb (late 20th c.: 25%, n=45/181; early 21st c.: 28%, n=13/47).

In sum, the relatively high overall rate of occurrence of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions in Laurentian varieties (see Table 4.6 above for distributions) is, to a large extent, due to a small number of high-frequency matrix verbs and high-frequency embedded verbs.

3.2.3.3 Semantic class of the verbal matrix construction

In keeping with prior analyses of the subjunctive in Ottawa-Hull (Poplack 1990, 1992), Poplack et al. (2013) considered the semantic class of verbal governors in order to determine whether this linguistic factor group has an effect on selection of the subjunctive, as outlined by prescriptive grammars.[75] For each time period, they examined subjunctive usage after matrix verbs categorized into four discrete semantic classes: volition (e.g. *vouloir*, 'to want'), emotion (e.g. *aimer*, 'to like'), evaluative (e.g. *c'est cool que,* 'it's cool that') and opinion (e.g. negated *penser*, 'to think, believe'). Though the different semantic classes produce varying statistical results across time, some general patterns do emerge from their data.

	RFQA (mid 20th c.)		Ottawa-Hull (late 20th c.)		Gatineau (early 21st c.)	
	FW	N	FW	N	FW	N
Semantic class						
Volition	.58	69/112	.77	296/384	.78	86/108
Emotion	–		.66	91/146	.84	23/27
Evaluative	–		–		.56	27/46
Opinion	.13	4/18	.09	35/269	.10	9/85
Range	*48*		*68*		*74*	

TABLE 4.11 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of semantic class to the selection of subjunctive morphology with verbs embedded under matrices other than *falloir* in studies of Ottawa-Hull French and Québec French (adapted from Poplack et al. 2013: Table 9)[76]

As can be seen in Table 4.11, verbs of volition consistently favour the subjunctive and verbs of opinion strongly disfavour it. With respect to verbs of emotion, they favour the subjunctive in the late 20th- and early 21st-century data. Lastly, it is only in the 21st

[75] Due to the strong influence of *falloir* on use of the subjunctive, Poplack et al. (2013) analyzed data for this verb separately. Semantic class was considered only in the analysis of matrices other than *falloir*.
[76] Poplack et al. (2013) performed three different statistical analyses with Goldvarb – one for each time period. For clarity, I provide the results for each linguistic factor and time period separately.

century data that evaluative verbs have a statistically significant effect on use of the subjunctive.

It turns out, however, that the division of the data by semantic class is problematic since each class consists of only a few matrix verbs. The 'volition' category is made up primarily of *vouloir* whereas that of 'emotion' is dominated by the verb *aimer*. As for the 'opinion' category, it is largely occupied by negated *penser*. Note that, unlike the other categories, which generally require the subjunctive, the 'opinion' class should be expected to allow some variability in mood choice. This is because negated *penser*, and its equivalent negated *croire*, may vary between the subjunctive or the indicative to nuance degrees of assertion (Rowlett 2007; see also Abouda 2002).[77]

3.2.3.4 Tense of the matrix verb

The extent to which the tense of the matrix verb (i.e., present indicative, imperfect, present perfect, periphrastic future and conditional) favours or disfavours use of the subjunctive in the embedded clause has also been examined in variationist work. Following the model of prior studies (e.g., Poplack 1990, 1992), Poplack et al. (2013) tested for a possible effect of tense using data for the matrix verb *falloir* alone and also for all other matrix verbs combined. Quantitative analyses of the data for all three time periods show that this factor group once had a statistically significant effect, but has subsequently become inoperative (Tables 4.12 and 4.13).

[77] However, Haase (1965: 188) indicates that 17th-century French grammarians like Vaugelas and Corneille insisted on the use of only the subjunctive after negated *penser* and *croire*.

	RFQA (mid 20th c.)		Ottawa-Hull (late 20th c.)		Gatineau (early 21st c.)	
	FW	N	FW	N	FW	N
Tense of *falloir*						
Present indicative	.66	140/182	.52	869/937	[ ][78]	
Imperfect	.15	8/37	.65	443/471	[ ]	
Present perfect	–		.54	46/49	[ ]	
Periphrastic future	–		.51	41/45	[ ]	
Conditional	.03	1/19	.10	93/165	[ ]	
Range	*63*		*55*			

TABLE 4.12 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of tense of matrix verb to the selection of subjunctive morphology with verbs embedded under *falloir* in studies of Ottawa-Hull French and Québec French (adapted from Poplack et al. 2013: Table 9)

	RFQA (mid 20th c.)		Ottawa-Hull (late 20th c.)		Gatineau (early 21st c.)	
	FW	N	FW	N	FW	N
Tense of matrix verb						
Present indicative	.68	75/108	.51	271/555	[ ]	
Imperfect	.38	6/16	.65	94/142	[ ]	
Present perfect	–		.42	14/36	[ ]	
Periphrastic future	–		.38	4/11	[ ]	
Conditional	.03	1/22	.25	55/119	[ ]	
Range	*64*		*40*			

TABLE 4.13 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of tense of matrix verb to the selection of subjunctive morphology with verbs embedded under all other matrix verbs in studies of Ottawa-Hull French and Québec French (adapted from Poplack et al. 2013: Table 8)

The results provided in Tables 4.12 and 4.13 point to one consistent pattern: when the verbal matrix construction is in the conditional, use of the subjunctive is strongly disfavoured. Poplack (1992: Table 4) suggests that this is due to a tendency towards tense parallelism: when a matrix verb is in the conditional, it is usually followed by an embedded verb in the conditional. Seutin (1975: 302) also observed that in Île-aux-Coudres, Québec, a matrix verb in the conditional is nearly always followed by a subordinate verb in the conditional (except after hypotheticals introduced by *si* 'if'). Auger (1990: Table XI) found that in Québec City the only impersonal matrix

[78] Square brackets indicate that the factor in question is not statistically significant.

construction in the conditional to attract an embedded verb in the conditional at appreciable rates was *falloir*. Auger (1988, 1990) also reports that (non-standard) use of the conditional in this context is correlated with speakers with the least education and those who live in the less privileged of the two communities she studied (i.e., St-Sauveur).

That the conditional is such a strong contender against the subjunctive is not a phenomenon unique to Laurentian varieties of French. Grevisse and Goosse (2008: §889 b 3˚) identify 'attraction' of the conditional in the embedded clause as a feature of varieties spoken in France and in Québec. With reference to spoken French in Poitou-Charentes, France, Cohen (1966: 88) observes that the conditional is not uncommon in a sentence like "il faudrait que j'irais demain au marché". According to Brunot (1922: 518), substitution of the conditional for the subjunctive is not unique to colloquial French. He notes that in some parts of France it is also found in the speech of "la meilleure société" 'the best society' and in "les écrits des hommes instruits" 'the writings of educated men'.

3.2.3.5 Presence or absence of the* que *complementizer

As for the *que* complementizer, which is variably realized in the data, Poplack et al. (2013) found that an overt *que* has a neutral effect on selection of the subjunctive whereas the non-realization of the complementizer strongly disfavours it. This finding applies to matrix verbs other than *falloir* in the Ottawa-Hull corpus and the Gatineau corpus (Table 4.14).[79]

[79] For verbs embedded under *falloir*, this factor group isn't statistically significant for any time period.

	RFQA (mid 20th c.)		Ottawa-Hull (late 20th c.)		Gatineau (early 21st c.)	
	FW	N	FW	N	FW	N
Presence of *que* complementizer						
Present	[ ]		.52	395/756	.53	150/273
Absent	[ ]		.39	64/141	.33	15/38
Range			*13*		*20*	

TABLE 4.14 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of the *que* complementizer to the selection of subjunctive morphology with verbs embedded under all other matrix verbs in studies of Ottawa-Hull French and Québec French (adapted from Poplack et al. 2013: Table 9)

Poplack et al. (2013: 174) write that "[g]iven the traditional symbiotic relationship between *que* and subjunctive morphology, even in independent clauses, it stands to reason that its absence would detract from the canonical form of the subjunctive-selecting construction." Their findings for the Ottawa-Hull/Gatineau region are consonant with those for Île-aux-Coudres, Québec, where Seutin (1975: 301) observed categorical presence of *que* with verbs in the subjunctive.[80]

3.3 Variationist studies of the subjunctive mood: Acadian varieties

Comeau (2011) is the only variationist study to examine in detail the variable use of the subjunctive in a spoken variety of Acadian French.[81] His analysis is based on natural speech data from two sources. The first is the Butler Grosses Coques Sociolinguistic Corpus, which was constructed under the direction of Gary Butler in 1989 and 1990. It comprises 31 sociolinguistic interviews (Comeau analyzed data from 22 speakers) and no

[80] In Auger's (1990: Table XV) study of mood choice in Québec City, the overall omission rate of *que* in the subset of data she analyzed is quite low, 23% (n=272/1159). It is not possible to determine the effect of presence or absence of *que* on selection of the subjunctive, or any other form of embedded verb, because Auger's analysis combines unambiguous and ambiguous tokens of the subjunctive.

[81] Rottet (2001: Chapter 8) provides an analysis of mood choice in Cadien (spoken in Louisiana). The results he reports are for subjunctive usage elicited by way of translation tasks. Rottet found that other finite verb forms, such as the conditional and indicative (n=534), outnumbered cases of the subjunctive (n=135) triggered by different verbal and non-verbal matrices (see also Rottet 1998).

questionnaire was used to elicit narratives and general conversation. The second is the Baie Sainte-Marie sample of the Corpus acadien de la Nouvelle-Écosse, which was constructed under the direction of Karin Flikeid in the mid-1990s (with Michelle Daveluy as collaborator). The sample for this region comprises 17 sociolinguistic interviews (Comeau analyzed data from 11 speakers) and a questionnaire was used occasionally to elicit narratives and general conversation.

It must be pointed out that the results taken from Comeau (2011) are shown in the form of percentages and number of tokens. For reasons that will become clear to the reader, the Acadian data were not submitted to regression analyses either because such an analysis was methodologically impossible or because Comeau established specific research objectives that did not aim to uncover statistically significant correlations.

3.3.1 Proportionate distributions

In this section, I consider the results for verbal matrix constructions as discussed in Comeau (2011) for the variety of French spoken in Baie Sainte-Marie (hereafter BSM), Nova Scotia.

For the region under study, Comeau reports that the subjunctive is not only the majority variant for verbal matrix constructions, it is in fact selected 97% of the time (n=303/310). This rate is substantially greater than those documented for any Laurentian variety, such as Ottawa-Hull (n=1953/2569, 76%) and Gatineau (n=663/841, 79%) (Poplack et al. 2013).[82] According to Comeau, the near-categorical overall frequency of

[82] Since Baie Sainte-Marie French possesses a rich system of verbal morphology, the proportion of unambiguous subjunctive tokens in this variety, and indeed in many other Acadian varieties, is far greater than in Laurentian varieties.

use of the subjunctive in this community is a reflection of the conservative nature of this particular Acadian variety.[83]

3.3.2 Social factors

Because there is so little variation in the data for verbal matrix constructions, Comeau (2011) did not test for the effect(s) of social factors.

3.3.3 Linguistic factors

Unlike the uniquely variationist studies on Laurentian French, Comeau's (2011) analysis of mood choice is informed by both variationist and formal linguistic theories. As such, his study did not focus on the same range of linguistic factors, such as linear "distance" between the matrix construction and the embedded verb.

3.3.3.1 Type of verbal matrix construction

In Baie Sainte-Marie, the impersonal verb of necessity *falloir* 'must, to need to' is the most commonly used matrix verb that selects the subjunctive. Whereas this verb alone represents on average 66% of all subjunctive-selecting verbal matrices in corpora for the Laurentian varieties, it accounts for 80% (n=249/310) of such verbal matrices in this particular Acadian corpus. Moreover, in Baie Sainte-Marie, there is no variability in mood choice with *falloir* (n=249), *vouloir* (n=26) and *aimer* (n=11), since all three verbs categorically select the subjunctive.[84] Thus, *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* are frequently

[83] See Comeau (2014) along with Comeau et al. (2012) for more details.

[84] In the variety of Acadian French spoken in Saint-Louis and Abram-Village, Prince Edward Island (King 2000), *falloir* selects the subjunctive 87% (n=377/433) of the time when it is in the present indicative, inflected future, imperfect and simple past. When it is in the conditional, the rate drops to 14% (n=9/64)

occurring subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix constructions in Laurentian varieties as well as in Baie Sainte-Marie, accounting for approximately 75% of all occurrences of the subjunctive in the former and 92% in the latter.

	falloir		*vouloir / aimer*	
Locality	N	%	N	%
Baie Sainte-Marie, NS (Comeau 2011)	249/249	100	37/37	100

TABLE 4.15 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* in a study of Baie Sainte-Marie French

Of the seven subjunctive-selecting matrix verbs that Comeau (2011) studies for this variety, six select the subjunctive 100% of the time – *aimer* 'to like', *avoir peur* 'to be afraid', *point croire* 'to not believe', *espérer* 'to hope', *falloir* 'must, to need to', *guetter* 'to wait' and *vouloir* 'to want'. The only verb that does permit variability in the embedded clause is the negated verb of opinion *croire*, which is followed by the subjunctive in 8 out of 17 occurrences (47%).[85] In terms of frequency of use, this context selects the subjunctive more often than the Laurentian varieties examined in Poplack et al. (2013) (see Table 4.11 above). In fact, Comeau shows that use of the subjunctive with negated *croire* is constrained by tense of the main clause: only when *croire* is in the present tense can the subjunctive mood appear in the embedded clause; if *croire* is marked for the past "... the expression of doubt no longer pertains to the speaker and the moment of speech, and, crucially, presupposes an assertion of the embedded clause event and selects [the indicative]" (Comeau 2011: 158). By honing in on the data for negated *croire*, Comeau concludes that speakers in Baie Sainte-Marie do signal nuanced degrees

due to tense harmony. (I thank Ruth King for providing me access to her corpus of French spoken in Prince Edward Island.)

[85] Both negated *penser* and negated *croire* are verbs of opinion in Laurentian varieties, with *penser* being more common. According to Comeau (2011: 181), only negated *croire* occurs in matrix position in Baie Sainte-Marie French.

of assertion with this verb. Furthermore, he considers this result as evidence in favour of a semantically productive subjunctive in this variety of Acadian French.

4.0 Delimitation of the variable context

My examination of the variable use of the subjunctive mood in the 1978 and 2005 corpora is modelled on the approach taken in previous work by Poplack and her associates (e.g., Poplack 1992; Poplack and Levey 2010). Like them, I recognize a variable context as it is defined by community practice – contexts which trigger use of the subjunctive at least once, as supported by examples produced by the Franco-Ontarian speakers – not by prescriptive standards. In accordance with Labov's Principle of Accountability, whereby all "reports of the occurrences of a variant must be accompanied by reports of all non-occurrences" (2004: 7), I identified all cases of the subjunctive mood embedded under a subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix construction, in addition to competing verb forms such as the indicative, conditional, periphrastic future and imperfect indicative.

The data extraction process yielded 573 tokens for the 1978 corpus and 1,809 for the 2005 corpus, all of which were extracted by reading the transcribed interview files. However, roughly half these tokens were discarded as these did not unambiguously display subjunctive morphology (295 cases in the 1978 corpus and 823 in the 2005). Examples of the types of data excluded from the final analyses are provided in the next section.

4.1 Excluded data

The data excluded from the analyses of mood choice fall into three broad categories. The first involves inter-paradigmatic syncretism. Most conjugations of the *–er* class of Laurentian French verbs (except 1PL *nous* and 2PL *vous*) do not have a subjunctive form phonologically or morphologically distinct from the indicative. Such ambiguous cases, as shown in (20), were omitted.

(20) Ça me dérange pas qu'ils **parlent** SUBJ/IND (< *parler*) en anglais.
'It doesn't bother me that they speak in English.'
(H2-26: unrestricted, working class, male)

In contrast, most verbs that belong to the *–ir* and *–re* classes have conjugations which often do possess distinctive subjunctive morphology, such as (21) and (22) below, and are, accordingly, retained for analysis:

(21) Leurs parents ils veulent pas vraiment qu'il **sorte** SUBJ (IND: SORT) (< *sortir*) tard.
'Their parents don't really what him to go out late.'
(H2-03: unrestricted, lower-middle class, male)

(22) Ils voulaient que je **comprenne** SUBJ (IND: COMPREND) (< *comprendre*) le français.
'They wanted me to understand French.'
(P2-16: restricted, working class, female)

Also excluded from the variable context were hypercorrect usages, i.e., occurrences of the subjunctive mood in contexts which should license the indicative, as illustrated in example (23):

(23) Le 3 novembre les 9e années ils s'en **aillent** SUBJ (< *aller*) à la Journée du Travail.
'On November 3 the grade nines are going to "Take our Kids to Work Day."'
(H2-26: unrestricted, working class, male)

In (23), the 3PL subjunctive conjugation *s'en aillent* is selected in the main clause instead of the indicative *s'en vont* for the verb *aller* 'to go'. It is possible that in such examples the subjunctive was induced due to the more formal nature of the discussion (Posner 1997), in this case an extracurricular activity organized by the school.

Lastly, I also omitted subjunctive avoidance strategies (but see Section 5.5). In Laurier's (1989) study of the variable use of the subjunctive in the 1978 corpus of Ontario French, he identified a total of 18 cases which allowed the speaker to 'bypass' subjunctive morphology:

(24) J'aime **quand** il met $_{IND}$ la musique.
'I like it when he puts on music.'
(C1-36: semi-restricted, lower-middle class, male; from Laurier 1989; ex. 6)

Examples of possible avoidance can also be found in the 2005 corpus, like in (25):

(25) Ça me surprend des fois **quand** qu'elle dit $_{IND}$ quelque chose.
'It surprises me sometimes when she says something.'
(H2-34: unrestricted, middle class, female)

In both (24) and (25), *aimer* 'to like' and *surprendre* 'to surprise' are both subjunctive-selecting contexts when they are followed by a *que* complementizer (overt or not); however, neither verb triggers the subjunctive mood when the embedded complementizer clause is headed by the temporal conjunction *quand* 'when'. I would argue that it is too difficult to determine whether examples like (24) and (25) are the result of a desire to avoid the subjunctive or to express some other semantic nuance.

4.2 Social factors

Once the excluded tokens were set aside, a total of 278 tokens of the variable were extracted from the 1978 corpus and 986 from the 2005 corpus. The data were coded for the following social factors: sex, social class and language restriction. Among these social factors, the role of language restriction at both points in time will receive the most attention in the discussions below.

4.3 Linguistic factors

As discussed earlier, in previous studies a broad range of linguistic factors have been tested to determine whether they contribute to selection of the subjunctive. In the analyses of mood choice in Ontario French, I considered the possible influence of five of these linguistic factors: type of verbal matrix construction, embedded verb, semantic class of the verbal matrix construction, tense of the matrix verb and the presence or absence of the *que* complementizer. Each of these linguistic factors are detailed below and supported by examples.

Type of verbal matrix construction

In prior variationist studies of French in Canada (e.g., Poplack et al. 2013), it has been shown that when the subjunctive mood is selected after a verbal matrix constriction, it tends to co-occur with only a small number of highly frequent matrices (especially *falloir* 'to be necessary', *vouloir* 'to want' and *aimer* 'to like'). I therefore coded for all verbal matrix constructions, such as (26) and (27), in order to determine whether such a lexical effect is also present in the data for Ontario French.

(26) Quand je lis un livre en français, **faut** que je le lise $_{SUBJ}$ plusieurs fois pour le comprendre.
'When I read a book in French, I have to read it several times to understand it.'
(C1-18: semi-restricted, lower-middle class, female)

(27) Les parents trouvent que **c'est pas bon** que ça soit $_{SUBJ}$ à leur façon.
'Parents find that it isn't good that it is their [young people] way.'
(N1-03: unrestricted, lower-middle class, male)

Embedded verb

The possibility of a lexical effect is not confined to the type of verbal matrix construction and has also been found to exist in the subordinate clause. Thus, I coded for every verb that was used in the embedded clause, whether it was among the known high-frequency verbs, for example *être* in (28), or any other verb, such as *traduire* 'to translate', in (29).

(28) C'est le *fun* que le monde **soit** $_{SUBJ}$ bilingue.
'It's fun that everyone is bilingual.'
(C2-03: semi-restricted, middle class, male)

(29) Faut qu'on **traduise** $_{SUBJ}$ d'habitude.
'We usually have to translate.'
(N2-40: restricted, working class, female)

Semantic class of the verbal matrix construction

Perhaps the most commonly recognized linguistic factor in grammars and other prescriptive sources said to motivate choice of the subjunctive or indicative moods is the semantic class of the verbal matrix construction. Each occurrence of the variable was categorized into four broad semantic classes: volition (30), emotion (31), possibility (32) and opinion (33). The few cases that fell outside of these four classes were assigned to a general class labeled 'other' (34).

(30) **Volition**
Je **veux** qu'ils aillent $_{SUBJ}$ à une école francophone.
'I want them to go to a French school.'
(P2-03: restricted, lower-middle class, female)

(31) **Emotion**
Il **a peur** que le serpent il réagisse $_{SUBJ}$.
'He's afraid that the snake will react.'
(H2-46: semi-restricted, middle class, male)

(32) **Possibility**
C'**est** pratiquement **impossible** que je faillisse $_{SUBJ}$ le français.
'It's next to impossible that I fail French class.'
(H2-04: unrestricted, lower-middle class, female)

(33) **Opinion**
Je **pense pas** qu'elle revienne $_{SUBJ}$ à maison.
'I don't think she's coming back home.'
(H1-02: unrestricted, working class, female)

(34) **Other**
Je **m'attends** pas que tout soit $_{SUBJ}$ en français.
'I don't expect everything to be in French.'
(C2-17: unrestricted, middle class, female)

Tense of the matrix verb

Given the existence of non-standard tense concordance reported in other studies of Laurentian French, for instance varieties spoken in Île-aux-Coudres, Québec (Seutin 1975), and in Québec City (Auger 1990), I coded for the tense of the matrix verb in order to determine whether this phenomenon was also operative in Ontario French. Matrix verbs appear in five different tenses: present indicative, imperfect indicative, conditional, compound past and periphrastic future. Examples of tense concordance with the imperfect indicative and the conditional are provided in (35) and (36), respectively.

(35) **Imperfect indicative**
Fallait $_{IMP}$ on le lisait $_{IMP\ (SUBJ:\ LISE)}$ des fois en classe.
'We had to read it sometimes in class.'
(H2-27: unrestricted, middle class, female)

(36) **Conditional**
Faudrait $_{COND}$ que ça serait $_{COND\ (SUBJ:\ SOIT)}$ quelque chose à trancher.
'It would have to be something to sort out.'
(H2-29: unrestricted, middle class, male)

Presence or absence of the *que* complementizer

The fifth and final linguistic factor that figured in the quantitative analyses was the presence or absence of the *que* complementizer preceding the embedded verb. As this linguistic factor plays a role in variant choice in other spoken varieties of Laurentian French, I also identified tokens for which *que* was realized (37) or not (38).

(37) **Present**
Ça se peut **que** le gars il ait $_{SUBJ}$ une couple d'amis qui viennent.
'It's possible that the guy has a few friends who might come.'
(P2-04: restricted, lower-middle class, male)

(38) **Absent**
Les devoirs, faut ø tu les faises $_{SUBJ}$ en avance.
'Homework, you have to do it in advance.'
(C1-11: semi-restricted, lower-middle class, female)

5.0 Results

In this section, I provide the results of the analyses for mood choice in the communities of Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke. It begins with a comparison of the proportionate distributions of the subjunctive mood for each community using data from both the 1978 and 2005 corpora. Next, I present the findings for the social factors as well as the linguistic factors considered in the analyses. Since the 2005 corpus contains more than three and a half times the number of tokens of the variable than the 1978 corpus does, the bulk of the discussion is based on data drawn from the most recent corpus. Once the results for the variable use of the subjunctive have been laid out, I move on to an overview of the findings for the verb of necessity *falloir*. This section concludes with a

study of the expression of necessity, the results of which show that use of the subjunctive declines along the continuum of language restriction. This decline is not due to incursion of the indicative, as one might expect, but to a gradual reduction in frequency of this mood's most important conditioning context.

5.1 Proportionate distributions

According to the rates displayed in Table 4.16, the proportionate use of the subjunctive appears to be quite high overall in 1978, at 78% (n=217/278). This figure is in line with the distributions that have been reported for other corpora of Laurentian varieties (e.g., 76% [n=1953/2569] in the late 20th-century Ottawa-Hull corpus). However, the overall rate of frequency of 78% needs to be interpreted with caution. First, due to differences in sociodemographic makeup of each community, namely with respect to language restriction at the level of the individual and of the community, it is more appropriate to focus not on the overall frequency but rather on the distributions obtained for each community. In so doing, we see that selection of the subjunctive varies substantially: as the local concentration of Francophones decreases, so, too, does the rate of use of the subjunctive. Speakers in Pembroke employ it the least, at 66% (n=57/86), whereas those in Hawkesbury use it the most, at 91% (n=40/44). Second, though the Mougeon and Beniak 1978 corpus contains 400,243 words, there are only 278 clear examples of the variable. Furthermore, since only 44 tokens were produced by informants in the French majority community of Hawkesbury, which in studies of Ontario French is seen as the "conservative norm", we are essentially left without a reliable benchmark for comparing the results pertaining to the minority communities in 1978.

With respect to the results for the three minority communities (Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke), the challenge of small amounts of data presents itself once again. None of the sub-corpora for these communities provides more than 86 tokens for analysis. Any generalizations made on the basis of these data must therefore be taken as suggestive rather than definitive. However, these results can play a role for real-time comparison.

	1978			2005		
	% FRANCO	N	% SUBJ	% FRANCO	N	% SUBJ
Hawkesbury	85	40/44	91	80	383/443	87
Cornwall	35	69/85	81	27	130/295	44
North Bay	17	51/63	81	14	100/180	56
Pembroke	8	57/86	66	6	42/68	62
Total		217/278	78		655/986	66

TABLE 4.16 Frequency of use of the subjunctive mood with verbal matrix constructions in Ontario French (1978 and 2005)

In contrast, the more recent Mougeon, Nadasdi and Rehner 2005 corpus presents more data for examining grammatical variation. It is more than double in size (1,093,657 words) and yields over three times as many tokens of the variable. For instance, there are more tokens of the subjunctive variable in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus alone (n=443) than there are in the entire 1978 corpus (n=278). Given this fact, for the 2005 data there is a solid benchmark for the comparison of results for Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke.

It is not particularly useful to attempt to interpret the overall frequency of use of the subjunctive in the 2005 corpus. Indeed, the rate of 66% (n=655/986) is lower than that reported for other varieties (e.g., 79% [n=663/841] in the early 21st century Gatineau corpus). As was the case for the 1978 corpus, there is also a high degree of inter-community variation in the 2005 corpus and the proportionate distributions for verbal matrix constructions do not follow in the direction we might expect. The subjunctive is

selected most in Hawkesbury, at 87% (n=383/443), and least in Cornwall, at 44% (n=130/295). That the lowest rate of use of the subjunctive is associated with Cornwall, the community with the strongest French-speaking population (27% Francophone) after Hawkesbury (80% Francophone), and not with the weak minority town of Pembroke (6% Francophone), which actually has the second highest rate of use of the subjunctive (62%), suggests that selection of subjunctive morphology does not pattern with community-wide language restriction.

While there may be no discernable pattern with respect to the actual rate of use of the subjunctive by individual community, there is, in fact, a finding that prompts further investigation of the behaviour of the subjunctive. According to the figures in Table 4.16, it is not the rate of use of the subjunctive that declines with the francophone population of each community, but rather the total number of subjunctive-selecting contexts. The community with the strongest francophone presence, Hawkesbury, yields the largest number of tokens (n=443), followed by the minority communities of Cornwall (n=295), North Bay (n=180) and, finally, Pembroke (n=68). I will return to the relevance of this finding in later sections.

5.2 Social factors

Due to there being little data overall in the 1978 corpus that can be scrutinized, much of what follows will be centered around the findings for the 2005 corpus. In light of the fact that there are ample data for the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, I will begin with a detailed analysis of these results, which I will turn to as a point of comparison for the results for Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke.

Before presenting the results of my analyses of mood choice in Ontario-French, it is important to note that it was often not possible to perform regression analyses on the data using Goldvarb. As such, many of the analyses that follow are based on raw numbers only. The challenge of using statistical methods will be discussed below.

5.2.1 Hawkesbury

Table 4.17 provides the distribution of the aggregate results for subjunctive usage in the Hawkesbury 1978 and Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpora according to three social factors, specifically speaker sex, category of language restriction (2005 corpus only) and social class. Again, due to the availability of so few tokens for 1978 (n=44), the results for this time period cannot be interpreted with a great deal of certainty and are provided for information purposes only. Therefore, the analysis for this community will be based on the data for 2005.

	1978		2005	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Sex				
Female	24/28	86	182/209	87
Male	16/16	100	201/234	86
Restriction				
Unrestricted	40/44	91	271/319	85
Semi-restricted	n/a	n/a	112/124	90
Class[86]				
Middle	4/4	100	137/156	88
Lower-Middle	29/32	91	137/156	88
Working	7/8	88	109/131	83
Total	40/44	91	383/443	87

TABLE 4.17 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions according to social factors in Hawkesbury (1978 and 2005)

[86] That the figures are identical for middle class and lower-middle class speakers in the 2005 sub-corpus is coincidental.

According to the results for the social factors in 2005, the subjunctive is by far the dominant verb form selected with matrix verb constructions, regardless of speaker sex (females: 87% [n=182/209]; males: 86% [n=201/234]), category of language restriction (unrestricted: 85% [n=271/319]; semi-restricted: 90% [n=112/124]) and social class (middle: 88% [n=137/156]; lower-middle: 88% [n=137/156]; working: 83% [n=109/131]). In addition to overall high rates of use of the subjunctive, which range between 83% and 90%, it is striking to find negligible differences across and within each of the social factor groups assessed. In fact, the greatest observable discrepancy in the rates presented in Table 4.17 is a mere 5%, which applies to language restriction and social class.

Apart from the observation that the subjunctive occurs at a high frequency and also rather uniformly according to the various social factors, little else can be said vis-à-vis the results for mood choice in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus. However, prior research on this variable (e.g., Poplack 1997; Poplack and Levey 2010) has shown that this interpretation of the results may be less than accurate if the latter are viewed only in the aggregate. In order to gain further insight into the effect that social constraints may have on mood choice, more detailed inspection of the data is needed.

The approach adopted here is modeled in part on the one proposed in Poplack (1997), which partitioned the verbal matrix constructions into four 'classes' established by the author: 1) *falloir* 'must, to need to'; 2) *vouloir* 'to want' and *aimer* 'to like'; 3) high frequency matrix constructions that have a low rate of subjunctive usage; and 4) low frequency matrix constructions that have a variable rate of subjunctive usage (this linguistic factor is described in more detail in Section 3.2.2 above). Since the data set for

Hawkesbury (n=443) is not as large as that for Ottawa-Hull (n=2569) and since all but 105 tokens are with *falloir* (n=291), *vouloir* and *aimer* (n=47), it is not possible to organize the data into groups resembling Poplack's class 3 and class 4. Instead, I arranged verbal matrix constructions into the following groups: 1) *falloir*; 2) *vouloir* and *aimer*; 3) *ça se peut que* 'it is possible that'; and 4) other verbal matrix constructions, which represent all other verbal matrices that triggered the subjunctive.[87] These four groups were then cross-tabulated with frequency of use of the subjunctive for each of speaker sex, language restriction and social class.

The results for this stage of the analysis, which are displayed in Table 4.18, do not reveal an obvious pattern. For each social factor, there is a high degree of consistency in the frequency of use of the subjunctive within each of the four groups of matrix constructions. Irrespective of speaker sex, degree of language restriction and social class, all speakers opt for the subjunctive mood, and avoid competing verb forms, at nearly the same rates.

[87] Occurrences of the expression *ça se peut que* 'it is possible that' were placed in their own group because they categorically select the subjunctive (n=20/20). To add these tokens to the 'other' group of embedded verbs would inflate the corresponding rates.

	Verbal matrix construction							
Total N: 443	*falloir*		*vouloir / aimer*		*çspq*		Other	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Sex								
Female	127/135	94	28/29	97	10/10	100	17/35	49
Male	151/156	97	17/18	94	10/10	100	23/50	46
Restriction								
Unrestricted	192/202	95	34/36	94	12/12	100	33/69	48
Semi-restricted	86/89	97	11/11	100	8/8	100	7/16	44
Class								
Middle	103/105	98	18/19	95	3/3	100	13/29	45
Lower-middle	102/106	96	15/15	100	7/7	100	13/28	46
Working	73/80	91	12/13	92	10/10	100	14/28	50
Total	278/291	96	45/47	96	20/20	100	40/85	47

TABLE 4.18 Frequency of use of the subjunctive mood with *falloir*, *vouloir*, *aimer*, *ça se peut que* and other verbal matrix constructions according to social factors in Hawkesbury (2005)

The absence of a pattern for speaker sex is consonant with the finding reported for the Ottawa-Hull region. Poplack (1997) shows that female speakers favour the subjunctive (factor weight=.52) slightly more than male speakers (factor weight=.46). However, Poplack suggests that this result is misleading and may be skewed by interactions in the aggregate analysis of the data.

Moreover, the data for Hawkesbury show no evidence that variable levels of contact with English, i.e., restriction in the use of French, play a role, a factor which was also ruled out for Ottawa-Hull. Whether members of the unrestricted or semi-restricted category, the Hawkesbury speakers employ the subjunctive at the same rates of frequency across all groups of verbal matrix constructions. In a study of the variation in the first person singular conjugations of the verb *aller* 'to go', Mougeon et al. (2009) found negligible differences in patterns of variant usage between semi-restricted and unrestricted speakers in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus. With respect to the subjunctive, though it is true that semi-restricted speakers produced a comparatively

smaller number of tokens, this should not be taken as a consequence of language contact. Indeed, this result can be explained by the unequal representation of unrestricted speakers (n=37) and semi-restricted speakers (n=13) in the Hawkesbury sub-corpus. The quantitative results suggest that knowledge of and exposure to English in this community do not influence the variable under investigation.

As for social class, there is a very minor difference in subjunctive usage with *falloir*: the highest rate is associated with middle class speakers, at 98% (n=103/105), followed by lower-middle class speakers, at 96% (n=102/106), and lastly working class speakers, at 91% (n=73/80). As there is only a 7% difference between the highest and lowest rates for social class, this result is trivial. Furthermore, the data do not reveal a pattern for subjunctive usage with respect to social class and any of the other groups of verbal matrix constructions. At the very least, one could have expected the data for high-frequency *falloir* to show a clearer pattern, as is does in the Ottawa-Hull corpus. Poplack (1997) found that with *falloir* the subjunctive was most favoured by professionals (factor weight=.69) and disfavoured by unskilled workers (factor weight=.45). In sum, an examination of the use of the subjunctive after verbal matrix constructions does not provide any evidence to suggest that mood choice in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus is influenced by the social factors considered.

In an effort to uncover patterns that may occur elsewhere for the same three social factors, I also examined the rates of use of the subjunctive with verbs in the embedded clause. The data were divided into five discrete groups according to the lexical identity of the verb: *être* 'to be', *avoir* 'to have', *aller* 'to go', *faire* 'to do' and all other embedded

verbs. Thus, high-frequency embedded verbs were assessed individually alongside a single group of low-frequency embedded verbs.

	Embedded verb									
Total N: 443	*être*		*avoir*		*aller*		*faire*		Other	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Sex										
Female	41/46	89	14/20	70	29/29	100	18/20	90	80/94	85
Male	41/48	85	26/38	68	41/43	95	22/25	88	71/80	89
Restriction										
Unrestricted	59/69	86	30/43	70	47/49	96	29/33	88	106/125	85
Semi-restricted	23/25	92	10/15	67	23/23	100	11/12	92	45/49	92
Class										
Middle	22/28	79	19/27	70	22/22	100	15/17	88	59/62	95
Lower-middle	32/35	91	12/17	71	19/21	90	17/19	89	57/64	89
Working	28/31	90	9/14	64	29/29	100	8/9	89	35/48	73
Total	82/94	87	40/58	69	70/72	97	40/45	89	151/174	87

TABLE 4.19 Frequency of use of the subjunctive mood with *être*, *avoir*, *aller, faire* and 'other' embedded verbs according to social factors in Hawkesbury (2005)

According to Table 4.19, the same general conclusions pertaining to use of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions can also be drawn for its use with embedded verbs. Female and male adolescents use the subjunctive at almost identical rates of frequency for all of the groups of embedded verbs. Similarly, with respect to language restriction, the rates obtained for semi-restricted speakers run in parallel fashion to those for their unrestricted peers, no matter the lexical identity of the embedded verb.

As for speakers representative of the three socioeconomic levels, they either produce similar rates for each of the defined groups of embedded verbs or, when they do not, the rates do not follow in a direction one might expect. For instance, there is some variance in the proportionate use of the subjunctive for the verb *être*: 79% for middle class speakers (n=22/28) versus 91% for lower-middle class speakers (n=32/35) and 90% for working class speakers. This finding is at odds with Foulet (1965) and Posner (1997),

both of whom suggest that the subjunctive in French is an element of formal language, which, in the sociolinguistic literature, is more closely connected with speakers belonging to the higher social classes (Labov 1972, 2001). Even if the results were reversed for the verb *être*, such that middle class speakers used the subjunctive most and working class speakers used it least, the results for one verb alone, or for any of the high-frequency verbs for that matter, probably would not be the locus of any social meaning.

However, if we look to the rates for all other embedded verbs combined, that is, low-frequency verbs, a pattern does emerge from the results for social class. The results in Table 4.19 show that middle class speakers favour the subjunctive almost categorically, at 95% (n=59/62); lower-middle class speakers provide the second highest rate, at 89% (n=57/64); finally, working class speakers produce the lowest rate, at 73% (n=35/48).

I carried out several multivariate analyses on the data to verify whether any of the social factors contributed significantly to the selection of the subjunctive mood with embedded verbs. None of the social factors were retained as significant in an analysis that includes all five groups of embedded verbs. However, when the four high-frequency verbs are excluded from the data set and only the group of 'other' embedded verbs is analyzed, the pattern for social class highlighted in Table 4.19 is selected as statistically significant. According to the results presented in Table 4.20, middle class speakers favour use of the subjunctive with 'other' embedded verbs (factor weight=.71) whereas working class speakers strongly disfavour it (factor weight=.25). Lower middle class speakers neither favour nor disfavour the subjunctive in this environment (factor weight=.50).[88]

[88] The same pattern obtains even when tokens of *falloir* are excluded: 91% for middle class (n=10/11), 64% for lower middle class (n=9/14) and 40% for working class (n=4/10). Note, however, that this observation is based on a total of only 35 tokens.

	FW	N	%
Social class			
Middle	.71	59/62	95
Lower-middle	.50	57/64	89
Working	.25	35/48	73
range	*46*		
Sex			
Female	[.48]	80/94	85
Male	[.52]	71/80	89
Language restriction			
Unrestricted	[.49]	106/125	85
Semi-restricted	[.53]	45/49	92
Total N: 151/174			
Input: .89			
Significance: .005 Log likelihood: -67.13			

TABLE 4.20 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the probability that the subjunctive mood will be selected with 'other' embedded verbs in Hawkesbury (2005)

That use of the subjunctive correlates positively with social class suggests that this mood does have social significance in Hawkesbury, but only in a very confined area of the grammar. Although this result lends some support to Poplack (1997), who asserts that use of the subjunctive in Ottawa-Hull is class based, the scope of the effect for social class in Hawkesbury is comparatively narrower. It is only in the specific environment of low-frequency 'other' verbs in the embedded clause that this particular social parameter exerts a statistically significant effect on mood choice. Poplack (1997) found that in Ottawa-Hull French the subjunctive was preferred by speakers of the highest social class for three out of four 'classes' of verbal matrix; however, at no point in the analyses did she uncover a linear correlation ranging from the lowest to the highest socioeconomic levels. It may be that the organization of the Ottawa-Hull data according to these four 'classes' obscures the possibility of finding such correlations.

To conclude, in light of the findings for speaker sex and language restriction in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus (Tables 4.19 and 4.20) and in consideration of the fact that neither of these social factors is argued to contribute in a consistent way to use of the subjunctive in the Ottawa-Hull corpus (Poplack 1997; Poplack and Levey 2010), it seems that speaker sex and contact with English (when present) do not affect the behaviour of the subjunctive in Laurentian varieties of French. Albeit in different ways, the only social factor that exerts a significant effect on mood choice in Hawkesbury and in Ottawa-Hull is social class.

5.2.2 Cornwall and North Bay

The results for the use of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions in the Cornwall 1978 and 2005 sub-corpora, are displayed in Table 4.21. As the number of tokens in the 1978 sub-corpus is also limited for these communities, I will focus on the results for the 2005 sub-corpus.

The figures in Table 4.21 show that in 2005 there is a negligible difference between the rates of use of the subjunctive for female speakers (45%, n=69/155) and male speakers (44%, n=61/140). Recall that no specific pattern was found for this social factor in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus either.

With respect to the findings for language restriction and social class, the differential rates of use of the subjunctive within each social factor are evident. As degree of restriction in the use of French intensifies, selection of the subjunctive declines (unrestricted: 64% [n=25/39]; semi-restricted: 45% [n=58/129]; restricted: 37% [n=47/127]). In addition, as one moves down the socioeconomic levels, there is a

progressive drop in the use of the subjunctive (middle: 53% [n=67/127]; lower middle: 41% [n=45/110]; working: 31% [n=18/58]).

	1978		2005	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Sex				
Female	32/35	91	69/155	45
Male	37/50	74	61/140	44
Restriction				
Unrestricted	23/27	85	25/39	64
Semi-restricted	40/46	87	58/129	45
Restricted	6/12	50	47/127	37
Class				
Middle	14/17	82	67/127	53
Lower-middle	37/46	80	45/110	41
Working	18/22	82	18/58	31
Total	69/85	81	130/295	44

TABLE 4.21 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions according to social factors in Cornwall (1978 and 2005)

However, upon further inspection, I found interactions in a cross-tabulation for language restriction and social class, which are highlighted in gray below:

	Restricted		Semi-restricted		Unrestricted	
Class	N	%	N	%	N	%
Middle	19/51	37%	25/40	63	23/36	64
Lower-middle	20/48	42	25/62	40	0	0
Working	8/28	29	8/27	30	2/3	67

At issue is the distribution of the tokens produced by speakers in the unrestricted category. Nearly all the data (n=23/36) come from middle class speakers, only a few tokens from working class speakers (n=2/3) and none from lower-middle class speakers. Therefore, it is not possible to establish whether the results for the unrestricted speakers reflect their extensive daily use of French or their socioeconomic background. It is important to note that, in the Cornwall 2005 sub-corpus, seven out of eight unrestricted speakers are from the middle class, one speaker is from the working class and there is no

representation for the lower-middle class (see the relevant speaker distributions in Chapter 3, Table 3.4).

After careful examination, I found interactions in the North Bay 2005 sub-corpus as well:

	Restricted		Semi-restricted		Unrestricted	
Class	N	%	N	%	N	%
Middle	11/34	32	8/19	42	0	0
Lower-middle	19/39	49	20/28	71	5/6	83
Working	4/5	80	21/35	60	12/14	86

Most of the tokens of the subjunctive for unrestricted speakers were produced by one working class speaker (n=12/14) and a handful by one lower-middle class speaker (n=5/6). Moreover, there are no middle class unrestricted speakers and the unrestricted speakers who did produce tokens of the variable are both male. Lastly, there is very limited representation of subjunctive usage by working class restricted speakers (n=4/5).

As was indicated in Chapter 3, Cornwall and North Bay are comparable in terms of their sociodemographic profiles. For example, both have similar total populations (i.e., approximately 45,000–50,000; see Table 3.1); both are minority communities situated along a continuum between the strong majority town of Hawkesbury and the weak minority town of Pembroke; both offer representation for speakers in all three categories of language restriction in 1978 and 2005; and the sub-corpora for each community are equivalent in size (Cornwall: 274,824 words; North Bay: 265,121 words). Given the similarities between Cornwall and North Bay and the fact that their respective data sets complement one another for the relevant cells, I decided to consolidate the data for these

communities. The combined results for Cornwall and North Bay (1978 and 2005) are shown in Table 4.22.[89]

	1978		2005	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Sex				
Female	65/73	89	137/272	50
Male	55/75	73	93/203	46
Restriction				
Unrestricted	32/38	84	42/59	71
Semi-restricted	80/93	86	107/211	51
Restricted	8/17	47	81/205	40
Class				
Middle	17/21	81	86/180	48
Lower-middle	61/78	78	89/183	49
Working	42/49	86	55/112	49
Total	120/148	81	230/475	48

TABLE 4.22 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions according to social factors in Cornwall and North Bay (1978 and 2005)

As can be seen in Table 4.22, combining the results for both communities does not resolve the problem of small quantities of data for 1978 (n=148). Not only is the data set too small to conduct a multivariate analysis, it is not of a satisfactory size to be able to interpret adequately the rates of subjunctive usage for each social factor. While I do provide the figures for 1978, I will concentrate on the findings for 2005, since the relevant data set (n=475) is large enough to warrant detailed analysis of the social factors.

In Table 4.22, a cross-tabulation of the results for social class and verbal matrix construction reveals a high degree of similarity in the use of the subjunctive according to speaker sex. For all three groups of verbal matrix constructions, female and male adolescents in both communities select the subjunctive at identical or near-identical rates. As for language restriction and social class, we see two opposing trends. For two out of

[89] To obtain the results for North Bay in 1978 and 2005, deduct the relevant figures for Cornwall (Table 4.21) from the corresponding figures indicated in Table 4.22.

three groups of verbal matrix construction, the rate of use of the subjunctive decreases gradually as use of French becomes more restricted. However, no discernable pattern emerges from the results for social class – not because the rates are similar within each socioeconomic level, like in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, but because they are random. Thus, the findings for the verbal matrix constructions point to the possibility that use of the subjunctive in these communities is influenced by degree of language restriction more than by any of the other social factors.

	Verbal matrix construction					
Total N: 475	*falloir*		*vouloir / aimer*		Other[90]	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Sex						
Female	92/144	64	28/50	56	17/78	22
Male	63/99	64	15/28	54	15/76	20
Restriction						
Unrestricted	32/41	78	2/2	100	8/16	50
Semi-restricted	80/111	72	10/21	48	17/79	22
Restricted	43/91	47	31/55	56	7/59	12
Class						
Middle	59/91	65	13/26	50	14/63	22
Lower-middle	63/95	66	21/32	66	5/56	9
Working	33/57	58	9/20	45	13/35	37
Total	155/243	64	43/78	55	32/154	21

TABLE 4.23 Frequency of use of the subjunctive mood with *falloir*, *vouloir*, *aimer* and 'other' verbal matrix constructions according to social factors in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

According to the results in Table 4.23, the same three observations gleaned from the matrix clause data also hold for the embedded clause: 1) with the exception of *aller*, there is no discernable difference in subjunctive behaviour in the speech of female and male speakers; 2) for all groups of embedded verb, the rates of use of forms other than

[90] The data for *ça se peut que* are included in the group of 'other' embedded verbs because this expression does not categorically select the subjunctive in Cornwall (n=3/14) or in North Bay (n=7/14), as it does in Hawkesbury (n=20/20).

the subjunctive rise consistently as restriction in the use of French intensifies; and 3) with the exception of *faire*, use of the subjunctive follows no particular direction according to social class.

Viewed more broadly, the results provided in each of the cross-tabulations for both verbal matrix constructions and verbs in the embedded clause suggest that in Franco-Ontarian communities which are primarily composed of semi-restricted and restricted speakers, use of the subjunctive varies as a function of relative degree of language restriction and that the social-class effect observed in Hawkesbury is not operative in the minority communities.

	Embedded verb									
Total N: 475	*être*		*avoir*		*aller*		*faire*		Other	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Sex										
Female	41/68	60	9/34	26	27/33	82	15/36	42	45/101	45
Male	29/49	59	8/37	22	12/19	63	9/17	53	35/81	43
Restriction										
Unrestricted	9/11	82	2/6	33	6/6	100	5/7	71	20/29	69
Semi-restricted	29/50	58	10/39	26	23/25	92	10/22	45	35/75	47
Restricted	32/56	57	5/26	19	10/21	48	9/24	38	25/78	32
Class										
Middle	26/50	52	9/28	32	11/19	58	13/24	54	27/59	46
Lower-middle	22/40	55	4/24	17	18/21	86	7/18	39	38/80	48
Working	22/27	81	4/19	21	10/12	83	4/11	36	15/43	35
Total	70/117	60	17/71	24	39/52	75	24/53	45	80/182	44

TABLE 4.24 Frequency of use of the subjunctive mood with *être*, *avoir*, *aller*, *faire* and other embedded verbs according to social factors in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

To test the validity of these observations, I submitted the aggregate data for Cornwall and North Bay to a multivariate analysis. The results of the statistical procedure with Goldvarb confirm that neither speaker sex nor social class play a significant role in the use of the subjunctive. Indeed, in Cornwall and North Bay, language restriction is the

only social factor that contributes to the probability that the subjunctive will be used. Unrestricted speakers exhibit the greatest preference for the subjunctive (factor weight=.72), followed by semi-restricted speakers, for whom the effect is neutral (factor weight=.52), and restricted speakers disfavour this mood (factor weight=.41).[91]

	FW	N	%
Language restriction			
Unrestricted	.72	42/59	71
Semi-restricted	.52	107/211	51
Restricted	.41	81/205	40
range	*31*		
Sex			
Female	[.53]	137/272	50
Male	[.46]	93/203	46
Social class			
Middle	[.46]	86/180	48
Lower-middle	[.53]	89/183	49
Working	[.48]	55/112	49
Total N: 230/475			
Input: .49			
Significance: .000 Log likelihood: -319.21			

TABLE 4.25 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the probability that the subjunctive mood will be selected in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

On the basis of the results of the multiple regression analysis, which are further supported by the distributions in Tables 4.23 and 4.24 above, we see that outside of the majority community of Hawkesbury, where a social class effect is observed, degree of language restriction is the strongest predictor of subjunctive usage. Specifically, in the minority communities unrestricted speakers are the only type of speaker who show a clear preference for the subjunctive mood over other competing verb forms. A large body of research on Ontario French (Mougeon and Nadasdi 1998; Mougeon et al. 2008, 2009)

[91] In an analysis of the data for 'other' embedded verbs, language restriction is the only significant social factor. The factor weights are as follows: unrestricted – .74, semi-restricted – .53, restricted – .38 (p= 0.004).

suggests that in communities where French is spoken as a minority language, restricted speakers (in particular) do not always acquire the usual linguistic and social constraints because they lack sufficient exposure to French in the variety of social contexts needed to internalize such patterns of variation. Such an interpretation may also account for the lack of an effect for social class in the Cornwall and North Bay data.

5.2.3 Pembroke

Finally, in this section I present the results for subjunctive usage in Pembroke, the community where French has remained a weak minority language over time. The data set for the subjunctive variable in the Pembroke 1978 sub-corpus is quite small overall (n=86) (Table 4.26) and does not provide any insight into the possible role of social factors for this community.

In previous sections, I set aside the figures for the 1978 sub-corpora as they simply do not yield data sets large enough to permit in-depth analyses. Instead, for Hawkesbury, Cornwall and North Bay I gave priority to data from the 2005 sub-corpora because they do provide data sets of a sufficient size for it to be possible to identify clear patterns or to find statistically significant correlations.

However, a similar approach cannot be adopted for the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus because it provides even fewer tokens of the variable (n=68) than the one for 1978, despite the fact that the 2005 sub-corpus (176,662 words) is some 36% larger than the 1978 sub-corpus (112,274 words). At the time the Mougeon and Beniak 1978 corpus was being constructed, the French-speaking population in Pembroke was strong enough to

have at least some representation from speakers in the unrestricted (n=2) and semi-restricted (n=13) categories.

	1978		2005	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Sex				
Female	24/36	67	23/36	64
Male	33/50	66	19/32	59
Restriction				
Unrestricted	20/26	77	n/a	n/a
Semi-restricted	21/35	60	n/a	n/a
Restricted	16/25	64	42/68	62
Class				
Middle	8/18	44	5/7	71
Lower-middle	34/47	72	31/47	66
Working	15/21	71	6/14	43
Total	57/86	66	42/68	62

TABLE 4.26 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions according to social factors in Pembroke (1978 and 2005) (data for invariant speakers included)

However, the 2005 sub-corpus comprises interviews from only speakers who are within the restricted range (n=31). In general, such speakers exhibit a low tendency to use subjunctive-selecting contexts at both points in time. For instance, in the Pembroke 1978 sub-corpus, two unrestricted speakers produced just as many tokens of the variable (n=20/26) as ten restricted speakers (n=16/25). In the merged 2005 sub-corpora for Cornwall and North Bay, 35 semi-restricted speakers provide just as many tokens (n=107/211) as 48 restricted speakers (n=81/205).[92] As for the Pembroke speakers of 2005, they have a weak propensity to use subjunctive-selecting contexts and the subjunctive mood itself. Whereas 21 out of 31 speakers in the sub-corpus used a subjunctive-selecting context as determined by the community norm (n=42/68), only 13

[92] I refer here to the number of speakers in a given category of restriction who produced subjunctive-selecting contexts, not the number of speakers associated with a given category of restriction represented in the respective sub-corpora.

of them – less than half the number of informants in the sub-corpus – actually selected the subjunctive at least once during their interview (n=42/56). It begs the question, then, of who among the restricted speakers in Pembroke continue to use subjunctive morphology. This information is shown in Table 4.27 (speakers are ordered from highest to lowest language restriction index score).[93]

	2005		
Speaker	N	% SUBJ	Index
P2-04	9/9	100	.41
P2-03	1/1	100	.30
P2-06	4/4	100	.29
P2-14	1/4	25	.29
P2-02	11/15	73	.25
P2-22	1/1	100	.19
P2-19	1/2	50	.18
P2-13	2/3	67	.17
P2-08	1/4	25	.16
P2-11	4/4	100	.16
P2-09	4/5	80	.13
P2-30	2/3	67	.13
P2-29	1/1	100	.11
Total	42/56	75	

TABLE 4.27 Subjunctive-selecting contexts produced by speakers who use the subjunctive at least once in Pembroke (2005)

This list shows that the few tokens of the subjunctive that are available in the 2005 sub-corpus are far from dispersed evenly among the 13 subjunctive users. Rather, the data are highly skewed in favour of two speakers (P2-02 and P2-04) who are responsible for 43% (n=24/56) of the tokens. There doesn't appear to be a pattern with respect to use of the subjunctive and degree of restriction within the restricted speaker range. Those who experience the highest degrees of restriction in the use of French, as

[93] This table excludes 12 tokens from 8 speakers who used a subjunctive-selecting context without ever providing an example of subjunctive morphology (i.e., data from invariant speakers).

indicated by the lower index scores, do not appear to use the subjunctive any less than many of the speakers with comparatively higher scores.

What is of interest is the low frequency of occurrence of subjunctive-selecting contexts in most of the Pembroke interviews. In Section 5.5, I consider strategies used by these speakers to express one particular meaning strongly associated with the subjunctive mood.

5.3 Linguistic factors

In this section, I present the findings from the analyses of the linguistic factors examined, namely type of verbal matrix construction, type of embedded verb, semantic class of the verbal matrix construction (excepting *falloir*), tense of the verbal matrix construction and, lastly, presence or absence of the *que* complementizer.

I begin with the community of Hawkesbury, which will serve as a point of comparison, then move on to the results for Cornwall and North Bay and, finally, for Pembroke. As I did in the analyses of the social factors, most of the discussion will be centred on the results for the 2005 corpus; however, when possible, I provide the figures for the 1978 corpus.

5.3.1 Hawkesbury

Table 4.28 shows that in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, *falloir* 'must, to need to' (n=291/443) is the most frequently occurring subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix construction, followed by *vouloir* 'to want' and *aimer* 'to like' (n=47/443). Combined, *falloir, vouloir* and *aimer* make up just over three-quarters of the data, whereas all other

subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix constructions make up roughly one-quarter of the data (n=105/443).[94] Note that the preponderance of tokens for *falloir*, which accounts for 66% of the data in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, is not at all unusual for a Canadian variety of French. The verb *falloir* represents 63% (n=530/841) of the data for Gatineau (Poplack et al. 2013) and 80% (n=249/310) for Baie Sainte-Marie Acadian French (Comeau 2011).

	falloir		*vouloir / aimer*		Other matrix	
Year	N	%	N	%	N	%
1978	25/44	57	6/44	14	13/44	30
2005	291/443	66	47/443	11	105/443	24

TABLE 4.28 Proportion of data for *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* in Hawkesbury (1978 and 2005)[95]

In addition to being highly frequent subjunctive governors, *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* also select the subjunctive at almost categorical levels. According to Table 4.29, *falloir* (n=278/291) and *vouloir* and *aimer* (n=45/47) select the subjunctive 96% of the time. All other verbal matrix constructions are rather weakly associated with selection of the subjunctive (57%, n=60/105). This finding will be examined in more detail below.

	falloir		*vouloir / aimer*		Other matrix	
Year	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
1978	24/25	96	6/6	100	10/13	77
2005	278/291	96	45/47	96	60/105	57

TABLE 4.29 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions in Hawkesbury (1978 and 2005)

The strong relationship between *falloir* and selection of the subjunctive is well documented in multiple varieties of French across Canada: 94% in Auger's (1988) study of Québec City (n=365/389), 94% in Poplack et al.'s (2013) study of Gatineau and 100%

[94] I include in Appendix B a list of the verbal matrix constructions that did or did not select the subjunctive in the data for all communities in the 1978 and 2005 corpora.
[95] Here and elsewhere, percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

(n=249/249) in Comeau's (2011) study of Acadian French. In light of this fact, it seems to be the case that in order for there to be a large number of instances of the subjunctive mood in corpora for Canadian varieties of French, the verb *falloir* must occur at a high degree of frequency. In fact, due to the overriding effect of the verb *falloir* on subjunctive usage in Laurentian varieties and its strong potential to distort the results, researchers (e.g., Poplack 1990) have partitioned the data such that linguistic factors are examined for *falloir* alone or for all other verbal matrix constructions combined. I adhere to this same method in the analyses of the Franco-Ontarian data.

Table 4.30 contains the results of the statistical analysis of the effect of linguistic factors on selection of the subjunctive with the verb *falloir*. According to this table, type of embedded verb exerts a statistically significant effect on subjunctive usage whereas presence or absence of the *que* complementizer and tense of the matrix verb do not. The results of the analysis for the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus are very similar to those for spoken French in Gatineau (Poplack et al. 2013: Tables 7 and 8).

	FW	N	% SUBJ
Embedded verb			
être, avoir, aller, faire	.71	150/152	99
Other[96]	.28	128/139	92
range	*43*		
Tense			
Present indicative	[.52]	216/225	96
Other	[.45]	62/66	94
***Que* complementizer**			
Present	[.52]	265/276	96
Absent	[.25]	13/15	87
Total N: 278/291			
Input: .97			
Significance: .007 Log likelihood: -49.10			

TABLE 4.30 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the subjunctive mood will be selected with *falloir* in Hawkesbury (2005)

[96] 39 different verbs make up the 'other' category.

With respect to type of embedded verb, the subjunctive is favoured with the verbs *être, avoir, aller* and *faire* (factor weight=.71) and disfavoured with all other verbs (factor weight=.28) that appear in the subordinate clause.[97] Such a finding is, as mentioned previously, consistent with the general preference for verbs in the language. In the past, scholars have identified the same four verbs as the most common verbs in spoken (Gougenheim et al. 1964) as well as in written (Brunet 1981) French.[98] That they exhibit a strong relationship with the verb *falloir* can be attributed in part to their overall frequency in the language and to the fact that they all have suppletive forms which are distinguishable from the indicative (e.g., indicative: *elle va* 'she goes' *vs*. subjunctive: *qu'elle aille* 'that she goes'). In other words, verbs that fall outside of this small set of highly frequent verbs are much more likely to be excluded due to ambiguous morphological forms (e.g., indicative: *je parle* 'I speak'; subjunctive: *que je parle* 'that I speak').

The tense of matrix *falloir* was not selected as significant. Previous analyses for mid 20th-century French in Québec and late 20th-century French in Ottawa-Hull did find this factor group to be significant; however, by the early 21st century, in Gatineau, its effect disappears (Poplack et al. 2013: Table 8). Poplack (1990: Table 4) explored tense of the matrix verb in detail using the Ottawa-Hull corpus and found that when the subjunctive is not selected, the form of the embedded verb often matches that of the matrix verb. This so-called tense harmony (Jones 1996: 177–178) is especially evident for embedded verbs which appear in the conditional, 78% of which co-occurred with a

[97] Non-standard and standard conjugations for the same verb were not treated separately, e.g., non-standard forms like *qu'il aye* [aj] and *qu'il seye* [sej] were coded the same as standard *qu'il ait* [ɛ] 'that he has' and *qu'il soit* [swa] 'that he is' for the verbs *avoir* 'to have' and *être* 'to be', respectively.
[98] Brunet's list of the 1,500 most frequently used words in written French is available at: http://cache.media.eduscol.education.fr/file/ecole/20/5/liste-mots-alphabetique_115205.pdf.

matrix verb in the conditional. This is further exemplified in Poplack's (1990) analysis of the data for matrix *falloir* which shows that of the five tenses, it is the conditional that most disfavours the subjunctive mood (factor weight=.10) in the embedded clause. The high degree of parallelism for the conditional is indeed a widespread, non-standard feature in several varieties of French (for Québec, see Seutin 1975 and Auger 1988; for France, see Cohen 1966), as noted above. The question arises as to why attraction of the conditional is not operative in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus.

It turns out that most examples with *falloir* are in the present indicative (n=225/291), leaving a total of only 66 tokens for the imperfect (n=25/291), present perfect (n=9/291), periphrastic future (n=17/291) and the conditional (n=15/291). As a result, in the multiple regression analysis a distinction was made only between *falloir* in the present and the four remaining verb forms. Owing to low overall frequencies of *falloir* conjugated in tenses other than the present and to the fact that even with the other tenses subjunctive usage remains very high (94%, n=62/66), it was not possible to assess the other tenses individually. Interestingly, I found only one example of the conditional in the embedded clause with *falloir* in the conditional (n=1/15); the rest are in the subjunctive. This result suggests that non-standard tense harmony involving the conditional, which has disappeared from the vernacular in Gatineau, does not exist in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus either. It is likely, however, that it did once exist, as the phenomenon is reported in other Laurentian varieties.[99] One possible explanation for its apparent disappearance is the age of the speakers consulted. The data for Hawkesbury and Gatineau come only from adolescents, all of whom were enrolled in French-medium

[99] The Hawkesbury 1978 sub-corpus contains three examples of *falloir* in the conditional, all of which select the subjunctive. These figures obviously do not provide evidence to support or cast doubt on the existence of tense harmony at an earlier point in time.

schools. Perhaps the education system has succeeded in eliminating variability in embedded clauses and making the subjunctive the (nearly) exclusive option with *falloir*. It would be necessary to obtain data from a broad range of ages to be able to ascertain whether this indicates a change in progress or one that has gone to completion.

Poplack et al.'s (2013: Table 8) analyses of the varieties spoken in Québec and the Ottawa-Hull/Gatineau region show that the presence or absence of the *que* complementizer has never contributed significantly to mood choice with matrix *falloir* at any point in time. It could therefore be expected that this same factor group would not influence the behaviour of the subjunctive in Hawkesbury.

Again, because of the overwhelming effect of *falloir* on use of the subjunctive, researchers (e.g., Poplack 1990) have tended to examine all other verbal matrix constructions separately. I also adopted this method but, unlike for the *falloir* data, was not able to run a statistical analysis on the linguistic factors, which include semantic class of the verbal matrix construction, embedded verb, tense of the matrix verb and presence or absence of the *que* complementizer. The decision to not attempt a statistical analysis is justified because, on the one hand, many verbs which form part of the variable context occur with very low frequency in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus (152 tokens for 28 different constructions) and, on the other, the data are affected by various interactions.

The verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* (n=152) were divided into classes based on their associated semantic nuance as recognized in the literature on modality. Though the literature does permit a long list of possible classes, the Hawkesbury data only support four: namely volition (e.g., *vouloir* 'to want', *souhaiter* 'to wish'), emotion (e.g., *avoir peur* 'to be afraid', *déranger* 'to bother'), possibility (e.g.,

(ad)mettons que 'let's suppose that', *être impossible* 'to be impossible') and opinion (e.g., *être mieux* 'to be better', *pas penser* 'to not think').[100] A separate category called 'other' was also created for constructions that did not clearly belong to any of the four classes. Note that these classes are not identical to the ones considered in Poplack et al.'s (2013) analyses, which, for example, divide *vouloir* and *aimer* into separate classes (volition and evaluative). I assigned these and other semantically related verbs expressing demands, encouragement, hope, wishes and wants to the same class because they all express degrees of volition, as shown in (39) to (41):

(39) Il va falloir que j'élève mes enfants le plus possible dans les deux langues...
Mais de préférence, j'**aimerais** ça que ce soit $_{SUBJ}$ français.
'I'll need to raise my children as much as possible in both languages... But, preferably, I'd like it [the language of the home] to be French.'
(H2-02: unrestricted, lower-middle class, male)

(40) Je **voudrais** pas que quelqu'un soit $_{SUBJ}$ rien que anglais.
'I wouldn't want someone [a store employee] to be only English-speaking.'
(H2-33: semi-restricted, middle class, female)

(41) On a toujours **espéré** que notre meilleure amie ça seye $_{SUBJ}$ notre voisine.
'We always hoped that our best friend is our neighbour.'
(H2-39: unrestricted, working class, female)

In general, however, the partitioning of the Hawkesbury data according to the semantic class of the verbal matrix construction is problematic. Poplack et al. (2013) also address the challenges of coding for this factor group, which is highly skewed toward certain constructions within each class. This is also the case in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus (Table 4.31). When we break the data down by individual verbal matrix construction, a very small number of them have more than two or three tokens across the

[100] There is a fair amount of variation in the literature with regard to classification based on the semantics of the verbal matrix construction. For example, Jones (1996) includes *aimer*, *vouloir* and *falloir* in a class of "emotive expressions", which he admits is a broad classification.

whole sub-corpus and only one or two constructions account for the data within most of the classes distinguished. For example, in the class labeled 'possibility', 20 out of 29 tokens are with the expression *ça se peut que* 'it's possible that'. In light of these skewed distributions, it is more likely that a statistical analysis that considers this factor group, however configured, would produce results that reflect certain constructions contained within the classes rather than the classes themselves. These interactions constitute an important piece of evidence for the exclusion of this factor group from a statistical analysis.

Semantic class	N	% SUBJ
Volition		
aimer	18/19	95
demander	1/1	100
encourager	1/1	100
espérer	1/1	100
faire (imperative)	1/1	100
souhaiter	1/1	100
vouloir	27/28	96
Emotion		
avoir hâte que	1/1	100
avoir peur que	4/5	80
déranger	2/2	100
être content que	1/1	100
être fier que	1/2	50
être heureux que	1/1	100
Possibility		
(ad)mettre	1/14	7
être/y avoir des chances que	2/3	67
être impossible que	1/1	100
faire sûr que	1/1	100
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	20/20	100
Opinion		
être bon que	2/2	100
être correct que	2/2	100
être dur que	1/1	100
être important que	3/3	100
être mieux que	2/2	100
être normal que	2/5	40
penser (negative)	4/25	16
Other		
arranger	1/1	100
arriver	2/7	29
attendre	1/1	100
Total	105/152	69

TABLE 4.31 Distribution of verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* according to semantic class in Hawkesbury (2005)

The partitioning of the Hawkesbury data according to embedded verb is equally problematic. As shown in Table 4.32 below, most verbal matrix constructions select *être, avoir, aller* and *faire* (n=117/152), which leaves only 35 tokens for all other embedded

verbs. In addition, the difference in rate of use of the subjunctive for either group of embedded verb is negligible: 70% (n=82/117) for *être, avoir, aller* and *faire* and 66% (n=23/35) for the remaining verbs. In fact, these rates are propped up by the verbs *vouloir* and *aimer* and the expression *ça se peut que*, all of which are frequently occurring [44% of the data, n=67/152] and strongly or categorically associated with the subjunctive [96%–100%]).[101]

I had anticipated that the aggregation of the other embedded verbs might mask a semantic distinction which accounts for the use of verb forms other than the subjunctive, i.e., the overt marking of degrees of assertion. However, an investigation of this kind is not possible for three principal reasons. First, the data are too widely distributed among 28 different matrix constructions. Second, 17 of the verbal matrix constructions do not select an 'other' embedded verb at all. Third and finally, the data are sparse outside of *vouloir* and *aimer* and the embedded verbs *être, avoir, aller* and *faire*. This environment of the variable context may represent a promising area to examine, given that it shows the highest amount of variation between the subjunctive and other verb forms in several Laurentian varieties, for example in Ottawa-Hull (25%, n=45/181) and in Gatineau (28%, n=13/47) (Poplack et al. 2013: Table 7). However, there is little room for a more fine-grained analysis using the data from Hawkesbury, as this environment yields 19 tokens, of which 8 are in the subjunctive, for 9 different constructions.

In short, I examined these data in detail to guard against making unfounded conclusions on the basis of aggregated data. It is clear that substantially more data are needed for each subjunctive-selecting construction to be able to determine whether the

[101] *Ça se peut que* can be regarded as a fixed expression. In 14 out of 20 cases, it selected *aller* 'to go'.

behaviour of the 'other' category of embedded verbs can shed light on semantic distinctions being made in this variety.

	être, avoir, aller, faire		Other embedded verb[102]	
Verbal matrix construction	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
(ad)mettre	1/8	13	0/6	0
arranger	1/1	100	0	0
arriver	2/6	33	0/1	0
attendre	1/1	100	0	0
avoir hâte que	0	0	1/1	100
avoir peur que	1/2	50	3/3	100
demander	1/1	100	0	0
déranger	2/2	100	0	0
encourager	1/1	100	0	0
espérer	1/1	100	0	0
être bon que	2/2	100	0	0
être/ y avoir des chances que	2/3	67	0	0
être content que	1/1	100	0	0
être correct que	0	0	2/2	100
être dur que	1/1	100	0	0
être fier que	1/2	50	0	0
être heureux que	1/1	100	0	0
être important que	3/3	100	0	0
être impossible que	0	0	1/1	100
être mieux que	2/2	100	0	0
être normal que	2/3	67	0/2	0
faire (imperative)	1/1	100	0	0
faire sûr que	1/1	100	0	0
penser (negative)	4/23	17	0/2	0
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	19/19	100	1/1	100
souhaiter	1/1	100	0	0
vouloir / aimer	30/31	97	15/16	94
Grand Total	82/117	70	23/35	66
Total excluding *vouloir/aimer*	52/86	60	8/19	42

TABLE 4.32 Distribution of verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* according to embedded verb in Hawkesbury (2005)

[102] 18 different verbs make up the 'other' category.

At most we can say that two matrix verbs – *(ad)mettre* and negated *penser* – exhibit variability in terms of subjunctive usage. The first, which surfaces in the imperative as *(ad)mettons que* 'let's suppose that', provides 14 tokens, but only one example of the subjunctive (with *être*). The second, the verb of opinion *pas penser* 'to not believe', provides more data overall, and when it does select the subjunctive, it is restricted to a very precise environment. In the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, 17 speakers produced a total of 25 tokens of *pas penser*. Out of these 25 tokens, four bear subjunctive morphology and do so only when: 1) *penser* is inflected for the present tense, 2) *penser* is in the first person singular, and 3) the embedded clause contains the expression *il y (en) a* 'there is/are'. I provide these tokens in (42) to (45):

(42) Interviewer: Trouves-tu qu'il y a une différence entre les, je sais pas, les relations entre parents et enfants comme à l'Orignal versus ici?
Speaker: Non, je pense pas qu'**il y en aye** SUBJ vraiment de différence, à peu près pareil, d'après moi.
(H2-21: unrestricted, middle class, male)

Interviewer: 'Do you find there's a difference between, I don't know, the relationship between parents and children, like in Orignal compared to here?'
Speaker: 'No, I don't think there really is a difference, about the same, in my opinion.'

(43) Interviewer: Fait que n'importe qui pourrait rentrer?
Speaker: Oui. Ben, je pense... je pense pas qu'**il y en aye** SUBJ personne qui va vouloir rentrer.
(H2-49: unrestricted, lower-middle class, male)

Interviewer: 'So anyone can go in?' [the speaker's friend's house because the doors are never locked]
Speaker: 'Yes. Well, I think... I don't think anyone would want to go in.'

(44) Interviewer: Trouves-tu qu'il y avait plus de neige quand qu'on était jeune ou c'est pas mal pareil?
Speaker: Je trouve quand j'étais plus jeune, il y avait pas mal plus de neige. Mais là, je pense pas qu'**il y en aye** SUBJ gros gros.
(H2-50: semi-restricted, working class, male)

Interviewer: ‘Do you find there was more snow when we were younger or it’s about the same?’
Speaker: ‘I find that when I was younger, there was more snow. But now, I don’t think there’s a whole lot.’

(45) Interviewer: (au sujet de la criminalité et de la drogue)
Speaker: Non, primaire, je pense pas qu’**il y en aye** SUBJ. Je pense ça commence... secondaire.
(H2-13: unrestricted, working class, male)

Interviewer: (on the topic of crime and drug use)
Speaker: ‘No, in primary school I don’t think there are any [drugs]. I think it starts... in high school.’

The situation with *pas penser* in Hawkesbury is in some ways comparable to that in Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia. Comeau (2011) found *point croire* ‘to not believe’, the semantic equivalent of *pas penser*, to be the only verbal governor to select both the indicative (n=9/17) and the subjunctive (n=8/17). He also found that mood choice was constrained by the tense of *point croire*, which selects the subjunctive only when it is inflected for the present tense (and in the first person singular). His findings are in line with the literature on mood and modality, which holds that the subjunctive is triggered when the embedded predicate cannot be asserted. Comeau argues that selection of the subjunctive or the indicative with *point croire* is driven by semantic considerations.

I do not believe the same argument can be made on the basis of the *pas penser* data from the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus. Indeed, use of the subjunctive with *pas penser* in Hawkesbury and *point croire* in Baie Sainte-Marie is similar in terms of the temporal constraint and also of the subject pronoun. Thus, there is the potential that *pas penser* may provide evidence in favour of a semantically productive subjunctive in Hawkesbury French. However, to test for this possibility a greater number of tokens of

the subjunctive used with *pas penser* is required. That the subjunctive with *pas penser* is restricted to the expression *il y (en) a* should not detract from this possibility.

As for the remaining two linguistic factors, tense of the verbal matrix construction and presence or absence of the *que* complementizer, it was not possible to submit them to their own separate multiple regression analysis. This is in large part due to interactions in the data for tense of the verbal matrix construction. According to Table 4.33, the lion's share of verbs in the present indicative are with other matrix verbs apart from *vouloir* and *aimer* (n=91/110); the conditional is composed primarily of examples with *aimer* (n=18/22); and most realizations of the imperfect are with the verb *vouloir* (n=9/11). One obvious interaction in the data pertains to the verb *aimer*, which, when used as a subjunctive governor, is more or less fixed to the context of the conditional (n=17/18).[103] To return to the question of tense harmony involving the conditional, the figures in Table 4.33 show that this non-standard feature does not surface in the data for verbal matrix constructions. Irrespective of which verbal matrix construction is in the main clause, whether *falloir* (n=14/15) or not (n=21/22), the subjunctive maintains its position as the dominant variant. Thus, the results provided in Table 4.33 below lend additional support to the finding that tense harmony, with the conditional and even more generally, does not influence subjunctive usage in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus.

[103] The sole occurrence of *aimer* in the present is as follows: *j'aime mieux qu'ils soient meilleurs en français* 'I prefer that they [my future children] are better in French' (H2-29).

	vouloir		*aimer*		Other matrix	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Tense of the matrix						
Present indicative	17/18	94	1/1	100	49/91	54
Conditional	1/1	100	17/18	94	3/3	100
Imperfect	9/9	100	0	0	1/2	50
Other	0	0	0	0	7/9	78
Total	27/28	96	18/19	95	60/105	57

TABLE 4.33 Distribution of verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* according to tense in Hawkesbury (2005)

Finally, according to Table 4.34, the subjunctive is selected more frequently when the *que* complementizer is present (72%, n=99/138) than when it is absent (43%, n=6/14). This factor group is found to be significant in an equivalent analysis conducted by Poplack et al. (2013) using data from Ottawa-Hull (late 20th c.) and Gatineau (early 21st c.). For both time periods, the presence of *que* has a neutral effect on use of the subjunctive (20th c., factor weight=.52; 21st c., factor weight=.53) whereas its absence disfavours the subjunctive (20th c., factor weight=.39; 21st c., factor weight=.33). The authors write that "[g]iven the traditional symbiotic relationship between *que* and subjunctive morphology, even in independent clauses, it stands to reason that its absence would detract from the canonical form of the subjunctive-selecting construction" (2013: 174). Without a statistical analysis, the extent to which this factor group influences use of the subjunctive in the data for Hawkesbury remains unknown. The data do show, however, that the complementizer is rarely omitted (n=14/152), as is the case with *falloir* (n=15/291).

	Other matrix	
	N	% SUBJ
Que complementizer		
Present	99/138	72
Absent	6/14	43

TABLE 4.34 Distribution of verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* according to presence or absence of the *que* complementizer in Hawkesbury (2005)

5.3.2 Cornwall and North Bay

Table 4.35 shows that *falloir* is the most frequent subjunctive governor in the 2005 sub-corpora for the French minority communities of Cornwall and North Bay, as was the case for Hakwesbury. This observation holds for both the 1978 (68%, n=101/148) and 2005 (51%, n=243/475) sub-corpora. *Vouloir* and *aimer* remain the most frequently used verbs other than *falloir*, yet there is a dramatic rise, from 13% (n=19/148) to 32.5% (n=154/475), in the distribution for 'other' verbal matrix constructions. It would appear that *falloir*, which has undergone a real-time decrease of 17%, has lost a fair amount of ground in favour of these other matrices. This represents a considerable departure from the distributions reported for the French majority community of Hawkesbury, where, respectively, *falloir* and other matrices account for 66% (n=291/443) and 24% (n=105/443) of the data in the 2005 sub-corpus. Below, I investigate in more detail the comparatively lower rate of frequency of *falloir* in these data.

	falloir		*vouloir / aimer*		Other matrix	
Year	N	%	N	%	N	%
1978	101/148	68	28/148	19	19/148	13
2005	243/475	51	78/475	16.5	154/475	32.5

TABLE 4.35 Proportion of data for *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* in Cornwall and North Bay (1978 and 2005)

With respect to frequency of use, the figures in Table 4.36 demonstrate that between 1978 and 2005 the subjunctive mood has declined with all verbal matrix constructions. In particular, we see that with *falloir* use of the subjunctive has decreased from 85% to 64% (–21%); and with *vouloir* and *aimer*, from 79% to 55% (–24%). By way of comparison, the same three verbs select the subjunctive 96% of the time in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus. These facts lead me to suggest that the subjunctive mood is in decline in the minority communities of Cornwall and North Bay. Such a decline is all the more patent in view of the finding that *falloir* does not play (or no longer plays) the same central role in maintaining the subjunctive as is the case in francophone communities such as Hawkesbury, Gatineau (Poplack et al. 2013) and Baie Sainte-Marie (Comeau 2011).

	falloir		*vouloir / aimer*		Other matrix	
Year	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
1978	86/101	85	22/28	79	12/19	63
2005	155/243	64	43/78	55	32/154	21

TABLE 4.36 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with verbal matrix constructions in Cornwall and North Bay (1978 and 2005)

For the reasons outlined previously in the analysis of the data from the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, only the data for matrix *falloir* were submitted to a statistical analysis. I will first present the findings pertaining to this analysis, followed by the findings for other verbal matrix constructions.

The results of the regression analysis on the data for *falloir* are provided in Table 4.37. According to this table, the only factor group which is selected as statistically significant is type of embedded verb: the subjunctive mood is favoured with *être, avoir, aller* and *faire* (factor weight=.65) and disfavoured with all other embedded verbs (factor

weight=.30). Neither the tense of the matrix verb nor the presence or absence of the *que* complementizer influence mood choice. In fact, the results of the present analysis are very similar to those of the analysis of the data for Hawkesbury (see Table 4.30). This applies not only to the factor groups that are or are not statistically significant, but also to the factor weights as well (.71 and .28, respectively, for *être, avoir, aller* and *faire* and other embedded verbs for Hawkesbury).[104] Although it is in decline in the minority communities under study, use of the subjunctive with *falloir* continues to be captured by the same model of variation as the one observed for the majority speakers residing in Hawkesbury where the subjunctive is not under threat. This finding lends support to the idea that speakers living in a francophone minority community can acquire and internalize the same linguistic constraints that speakers living in a majority community do.

	FW	N	% SUBJ
Embedded verb			
être, avoir, aller, faire	.65	95/123	77
Other[105]	.35	60/120	50
range	*30*		
Tense			
Present indicative	[.46]	109/180	61
Other	[.62]	46/63	73
***Que* complementizer**			
Present	[.48]	126/201	63
Absent	[.58]	29/42	69
Total N: 155/243			
Input: .65			
Significance: .000 Log likelihood: -149.16			

TABLE 4.37 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the subjunctive mood will be selected with *falloir* in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

[104] A separate multiple regression analysis on the data for semi-restricted and restricted speakers (n=202) confirms that these results are not propped up by the inclusion of tokens from unrestricted speakers.
[105] 21 different verbs make up the 'other' category.

Speakers in Cornwall and North Bay also produce a number of other verbal matrix constructions that could trigger the subjunctive mood: there are 14 distinct subjunctive-selecting constructions, in addition to the matrix verbs *vouloir* and *aimer*. (Comparatively speaking, this list is just under half the size as that found for the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, which contains 26 different constructions alongside *vouloir* and *aimer*.) The 16 constructions in question are arranged according to semantic class in Table 4.38.

Semantic class	N	% SUBJ
Volition		
aimer	10/21	48
vouloir	33/57	58
Emotion		
avoir/ être peur que[106]	1/2	50
Possibility		
être/ y avoir des chances que	1/4	25
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	10/28	36
Opinion		
croire (negative)	1/7	14
être bon que	1/1	100
être le fun que	1/1	100
être important que	1/1	100
être mieux que	3/5	60
être préférable que	1/2	50
penser (negative)	5/70	7
préférer	2/2	100
Restrictive adjective		
être le seul X que	1/22	5
Other		
accepter	1/1	100
(s')attendre	3/8	38
Total	75/232	32

TABLE 4.38 Distribution of verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* according to semantic class in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

[106] *Être peur* 'to be afraid' for standard *avoir peur* 'to have fear' represents a case of inter-systemic transfer from English (see Mougeon and Nadasdi 1998). Its use is also attested in other contact varieties of French, for example in the Acadian variety spoken in Prince Edward Island (n=3). (I thank Ruth King for providing me access to her corpus of French spoken in Prince Edward Island.)

As was the case for the data from the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, semantic class cannot be tested to determine whether it has an effect on use of the subjunctive because either the data are skewed in favour of certain matrix constructions or some classes. In general, there isn't a sufficient number of tokens distributed throughout this linguistic factor group, which is over-represented by *vouloir* and *aimer*. These two verbs provide one-third of the data for other matrix constructions (n=78/232) and just over half of the examples of the subjunctive (n=43/75).

Moreover, 40% (n=92/232) of the data are made up of the restrictive expression *être le seul X que* 'to be the only X that' (n=1/22) and the verb of opinion *pas penser* (n=5/70), neither of which is strongly associated with selection of the subjunctive. The challenge presented by these two constructions in particular is whether or not they should be included in the data set: they are clearly affecting a) the overall distribution of the matrix constructions and b) the rate of use of the subjunctive with 'other' verbal matrices. Were these 92 tokens removed from the initial data set of 475 tokens, a revised distribution of all the matrix constructions would be as follows:

- *falloir*: 63.5% (n=243/383)
- *vouloir / aimer*: 20% (n=78/383)
- other verbal matrices: 16.5% (n=62/383)

The new distribution would be more in line with the findings for Hawkesbury – and indeed other Laurentian communities (e.g., Ottawa-Hull, Gatineau) – where *falloir* provides two-thirds of the data. Moreover, to remove these 92 tokens would increase the rate of use of the subjunctive with 'other' verbal matrix constructions from 32% (n=75/232) to 49% (n=69/140). As such, a decline in use of the subjunctive with these

'other' matrices would not appear so extreme (versus 57% [n=60/105] in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus).

Despite the relative merit of eliminating the tokens for *être le seul X que* and *pas penser*, I am reluctant to do so as they do form part of the variable context. That being said, the configuration of the data for the 'other' verbal matrix constructions leads me to question whether, in circumscribing the envelope of variation for some linguistic variables, the presence of just one subjunctive out of 22 tokens of *être le seul X que* should necessitate its inclusion. However, in order to maintain consistency across the analyses of the data for all of the communities under study, I have elected to retain all verbal matrix constructions that selected the subjunctive at least once.

I also further divided the entire list of 'other' verbal matrix constructions according to type of embedded verb. The results of this breakdown are shown in Table 4.39 below:

	être, avoir, aller, faire		Other embedded verb[107]	
Verbal matrix construction	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
accepter	1/1	100	0	0
(s')attendre	2/5	40	1/3	33
avoir/ être peur que	1/2	50	0	0
croire (negative)	1/7	14	0	0
être bon que	0	0	1/1	100
être/ y avoir des chances que	1/3	33	0/1	0
être le fun que	1/1	100	0	0
être important que	1/1	100	0	0
être mieux que	2/4	50	1/1	100
être préférable que	0/1	0	1/1	100
être le seul X que	0/13	0	1/9	11
penser (negative)[108]	5/55	9	0/15	0
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	10/24	42	0/4	0
préférer	2/2	100	0	0
vouloir / aimer	28/51	55	15/29	52
Grand Total	55/170	32	20/64	31
Total excluding *vouloir/aimer*	27/119	23	5/35	14

TABLE 4.39 Distribution of verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* according to embedded verb in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

A similar analysis was pursued earlier using the data for Hawkesbury, with the goal of determining whether semantic distinctions were masked by the aggregation of 'other' embedded verbs. I concluded that such an examination was not possible because the data are distributed too widely; most of the verbal matrix constructions do not occur with the set of 'other' embedded verbs; and lastly, there are very few tokens outside of *vouloir* and *aimer* and *être, avoir, aller* and *faire*, i.e., in the environment where there is the most variability. The same observations also hold in regard to the data for Cornwall and North Bay. There are 16 different verbal matrix constructions, yet only five of them

[107] 21 different verbs make up the 'other' category.
[108] Use of the subjunctive with *pas penser* is not restricted to *il y a*, as is the case in the Hawkesbury data. The five tokens of the subjunctive are with *être* (n=2), *avoir* as an auxiliary (n=1) and *il y a* (n=2). However, like in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, the subjunctive occurs in embedded clauses only when *pas penser* (and *pas croire*) is in the first person singular and is inflected for the present indicative.

(*être le seul X que, ça se peut que, pas penser, vouloir, aimer*) supply 85% of the data (n=198/232). Six of the constructions don't occur with an 'other' embedded verb at all. Finally, outside of the context of *vouloir* and *aimer* and *être, avoir, aller* and *faire*, there are 35 tokens, of which only five are in the subjunctive.

With respect to tense of the matrix, the analysis of the data for Hawkesbury in 2005 (Table 4.33) confirms that there is no tense harmony involving the conditional and that interactions exist in the data. A similar analysis conducted using the data for Cornwall and North Bay points to virtually identical findings. For instance, there are only two tokens of a subjunctive-selecting matrix verb in the conditional that trigger non-standard use of a conditional in the subordinate clause. In addition, as indicated in Table 4.40, a large number of the verbs in the present indicative are with constructions other than *vouloir* and *aimer* (n=139/186) and two-thirds or more of the tokens in the conditional and the imperfect are, respectively, with *aimer* (n=13/19) and *vouloir* (n=16/24).

	vouloir		*aimer*		Other matrix	
	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ	N	% SUBJ
Tense of the matrix						
Present indicative	23/40	58	3/7	43	26/139	19
Conditional	1/1	100	7/13	54	4/5	80
Imperfect	9/16	56	0	0	1/8	12
Other	0	0	0/1	0	1/2	50
Total	33/57	58	10/21	48	32/154	21

TABLE 4.40 Distribution of verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* according to tense in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

The last and final component of the analysis of the data from the Cornwall and North Bay 2005 sub-corpora concerns the presence or absence of the *que* complementizer. The figures provided in Table 4.41 show that approximately 96% of tokens contain the

complementizer (n=222/232), which, at most, only indicates that omission of *que* is infrequent. For both factors the rate of use of the subjunctive is quite low (20%–33%), but this result is perhaps a reflection of the behaviour of this variable more generally in the minority communities rather than some influence from the complementizer itself. As I mentioned above in the discussion of the results for Hawkesbury, since the data for the 'other' verbal matrix constructions could not be submitted to a statistical analysis, it is not possible to know whether use of the subjunctive correlates with this factor group.

	Other matrix	
	N	% SUBJ
***Que* complementizer**		
Present	73/222	33
Absent	2/10	20

TABLE 4.41 Distribution of verbal matrix constructions other than *falloir* according to presence or absence of the *que* complementizer in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

To summarize, the findings presented above suggest that the subjunctive is in decline in Cornwall and North Bay, given both the decrease in the rate of use of this mood for all verbal matrix constructions across time (Table 4.36) and the lower rates as compared to those for the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus (Table 4.29). Most striking is the result for *falloir*: overall subjunctive usage with this verb (64%, n=155/243) is much lower than in the Hawkesbury data (96%, n=278/291) and also lower than the corresponding rates reported in studies of mood choice in other Canadian varieties of French.

That said, the results of the analyses of the linguistic factors examined in the data for Cornwall and North Bay, whether for *falloir* (Table 4.37) or for all other verbal matrix constructions (Tables 4.38 to 4.41), show that the behaviour of the subjunctive is not substantially different than what is found in the data for Hawkesbury (Tables 4.30 to

4.34). In the case of *falloir*, only the type of embedded verb significantly influences selection of the subjunctive, and the differences between the relevant statistical effects for the minority communities and the majority community are minor. As for the other verbal matrix constructions, the same general observations apply regarding semantic class, embedded verb and tense of the matrix verb, for all three communities. While the subjunctive mood in Cornwall and North Bay may be giving way to competing verb forms in terms of frequency, this loss does not appear to entail a weakening of the associated linguistic conditioning.

5.3.3 Pembroke

In Section 5.2.3, I showed that the data sets for the Pembroke 1978 sub-corpus (n=57/86) and Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus (n=42/68) were too small to undertake a detailed examination of social factors affecting mood choice. Insufficient data also preclude an investigation of the role of linguistic factors. The 1978 data are distributed more or less evenly across three levels of language restriction and the 2005 data are for 28 speakers in the restricted category, of which a handful employ the subjunctive (in fact, two speakers provide one-third of the data). The figures from the 2005 sub-corpus suggest that the subjunctive is a feature of the sociolinguistic competence of a few Pembroke speakers rather than that of the wider community.

According to Table 4.42, which includes the entire list of all verbal matrix constructions found in the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus, the variable context is composed of only six subjunctive governors. While this list is short as compared with the inventory of subjunctive-selecting verbal matrices for Hawkesbury, Cornwall and North Bay, there

is one essential piece of information that stands out. In the data for the weak minority community of Pembroke, the verb *falloir* does not constitute the primary subjunctive-selecting context (n=19), as it is overshadowed by *vouloir* (n=31).

Verbal matrix construction	N	% SUBJ
aimer	2/5	40
(s')attendre	1/1	100
être facile que	1/1	100
falloir	16/19	84
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	8/11	73
vouloir	14/31	45
Total	42/68	62

TABLE 4.42 Distribution of all verbal matrix constructions in Pembroke (2005)

Several studies based on data from sociolinguistic corpora for varieties of Canadian French, including the analyses above, have demonstrated that the verb of necessity *falloir* is the context *par excellence* with respect to use of the subjunctive. Not only does this verb tend to occupy a large portion of the data set for verbal matrix constructions, it also tends to provide the bulk of tokens of the subjunctive. It should therefore come as no surprise that when its use is infrequent, the number of available tokens of the subjunctive drops considerably. To better contextualize the highly infrequent use of *falloir* in the Pembroke sub-corpus, in the next section I compare the results for subjunctive usage with *falloir* in each community.

5.4 Summary of results for *falloir*

In the initial discussion of the proportionate use of the subjunctive with all verbal matrix constructions in the 2005 corpus (see Table 4.16), I showed that it is not the rate of use of the subjunctive that declines with the francophone population of each community, but

rather the total number of tokens of the variable (i.e., the size of the data sets). The relevant figures are reproduced in Table 4.43:

	% FRANCO	N	% SUBJ
Hawkesbury	80	383/443	87
Cornwall	27	130/295	44
North Bay	14	100/180	56
Pembroke	6	42/68	62

TABLE 4.43 Frequency of use of the subjunctive mood with verbal matrix constructions in Ontario French (2005)

In light of the importance of *falloir*, which serves to express necessity, I argue that more than any other subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix construction (viewed individually or in the aggregate), this verb in particular is the most reliable predictor of the extent to which the subjunctive mood is used. I therefore set aside all 'other' verbal matrix constructions and focus on the results for *falloir*. As can be seen in Table 4.44, the data sets for *falloir* decrease in size considerably according to the francophone population of each community, ranging from as many as 291 tokens for Hawkesbury to as few as 19 tokens for Pembroke.

	% FRANCO	N	% SUBJ
Hawkesbury	80	278/291	96
Cornwall	27	94/153	62
North Bay	14	61/90	68
Pembroke	6	16/19	84

TABLE 4.44 Frequency of use of the subjunctive mood with *falloir* in Ontario French (2005)

In order to establish whether or not this decrease is epiphenomenal to the relative size of the sub-corpus for each community, I normalized the frequency of occurrence of *falloir* followed by a finite verb per 100,000 words. Table 4.45 reveals that the gradual reduction in size of the data sets for *falloir* is not a symptom of progressively smaller sub-

corpora. Speakers in the majority community of Hawkesbury display the greatest propensity to use *falloir*, with 77 occurrences per 100,000 words. Intermediate rates were found for the minority communities of Cornwall (56 occurrences) and North Bay (34 occurrences). Finally, the rate of occurrence of *falloir* is lowest for Pembroke (11 occurrences).

	% FRANCO	Words in each sub-corpus	N *falloir*	Normalized per 100,000 words
Hawkesbury	80	377,050	291	77
Cornwall	27	274,824	153	56
North Bay	14	265,121	90	34
Pembroke	6	176,662	19	11

TABLE 4.45 Frequency of use of *falloir* according to community, size of sub-corpus and normalization per 100,000 words (2005)

The retreat in overall frequency of *falloir* (as measured by token count or normalization factor) from one community to the next also coincides with a decrease in selection of the subjunctive mood with *falloir*. As shown in Table 4.46, such a decrease advances along two continua: one involving language restriction at the level of the community and one involving language restriction at the level of the individual. The highest rate of use of the subjunctive with *falloir* is associated with speakers in the francophone majority town of Hawkesbury, at 96%. There is a progressive decline in subjunctive usage, from 78% to 47%, for the three levels of language restriction present in the data for Cornwall and North Bay. Note that unrestricted speakers in the minority communities (78%, n=32/41) do not have the very high rate of use as do speakers in Hawkesbury (96%, n=278/291).[109] Previous research based on the 1978 corpus has shown that patterns of language use observed for unrestricted speakers in the minority

[109] The relevant figures for speakers in Hawkesbury are: unrestricted speakers: 95% (n=192/202) and semi-restricted speakers: 97% (n=86/89). See Table 4.18.

communities can and do deviate from those observed for speakers in the French majority town of Hawkesbury (Mougeon and Nadasdi 1998). Thus, even the least restricted speakers living in the minority communities are not immune to the linguistic consequences of community-level language restriction. With respect to the rate of use of the subjunctive for unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay, I am hesitant to interpret the 18% difference (78% versus 96%) as a departure from the conservative norm. The lower rate found for unrestricted speakers in the minority communities may in fact be a reflection of the comparatively small number of tokens of *falloir* (41 tokens, versus 291 for Hawkesbury). Lastly, speakers in the weak minority town of Pembroke stand out as the exception to the overall trend. Contrary to what one might expect, subjunctive use is quite high, at 84% (n=16/19), especially when compared against restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay, at 47% (n=43/91). However, the relatively high percentage of use of the subjunctive with *falloir* in the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus is likely inflated by a very low token count.

	N	% SUBJ
Majority		
Hawkesbury	278/291	96
Minority		
Cornwall and North Bay		
unrestricted	32/41	78
semi-restricted	80/111	72
restricted	43/91	47
Weak minority		
Pembroke	16/19	84

TABLE 4.46 Frequency of use of the subjunctive with *falloir* according to community and degree of language restriction (2005)

I did not run a statistical analysis with aggregate data from all communities to establish whether or not the decrease in subjunctive usage with *falloir* according to

language restriction reaches the level of significance. On the one hand, the subjunctive is used almost categorically with *falloir* in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus and, on the other, *falloir* is virtually nonexistent in the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus. Such an analysis is nevertheless possible using the data for Cornwall and North Bay. According to the results in Table 4.47, use of the subjunctive with *falloir* is significant only for degree of language restriction: unrestricted speakers (factor weight=.66) and semi-restricted speakers (factor weight=.59) favour the subjunctive, whereas restricted speakers disfavour its use (factor weight=.33).

	FW	N	%
Language restriction			
Unrestricted	.66	32/41	78
Semi-restricted	.59	80/111	72
Restricted	.33	43/91	47
Range	*33*		
Social class			
Middle	[.51]	59/91	65
Lower-middle	[.54]	63/95	66
Working	[.42]	33/57	58
Sex			
Female	[.49]	92/144	64
Male	[.51]	63/99	64
Total N: 155/243			
Input: .65			
Significance: .000 Log likelihood: -150.26			

TABLE 4.47 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the probability that the subjunctive mood will be selected with *falloir* in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

As we saw in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, over the course of several centuries an extensive range of semantic contexts and verbal matrix constructions has been associated with the subjunctive mood in the French language. Fournier (1998) and Grevisse and Goosse (2008) mention over 130 different constructions; Williams (1885) recognizes several more. However, in sociolinguistic corpora for Laurentian (and Acadian) varieties, the

impersonal verb *falloir* is responsible for most of the subjunctive data. The above summary reiterates the prominence of *falloir* in regard to subjunctive usage in Ontario French corpora. It also underscores the finding that language restriction impinges on the overall frequency of *falloir* as well as on the rate of use of the subjunctive with *falloir*. Figure 4.1 captures an overview of the results for use of the subjunctive mood with *falloir*:

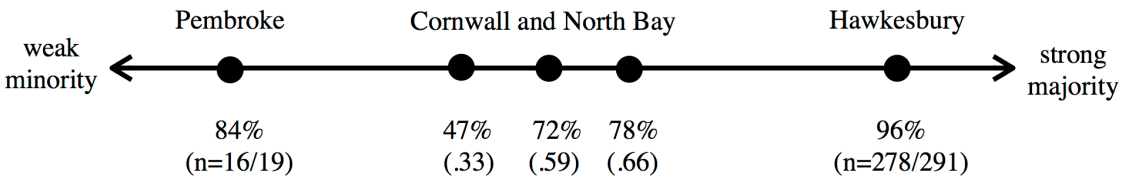


FIGURE 4.1 Use of the subjunctive mood with *falloir* in Ontario French (2005)

The decline in use of the subjunctive with *falloir* appears to be a case of morphological simplification whereby an unmarked form (the indicative) replaces a marked form (the subjunctive) (see Thibault 1991b). Simplification of this kind is not uncommon in the minority communities and can be motivated by degrees of language restriction. Mougeon and Beniak (1991, 1995) have demonstrated this in research based on their 1978 corpus. They found that both individual and community-level language restriction affect the rate of substitution of unmarked 3SG verb conjugations (e.g., *les parents part* 'the parents leave') for marked 3PL conjugations (e.g., *les parents partent*). The authors show that as restriction in the use of French becomes more pronounced, selection of the unmarked 3SG form rises. My findings for the subjunctive with *falloir* appear to mirror those for the morphological marking of 3SG and 3PL.

We may therefore appeal to language restriction to explain the gradually lower rates of use of the subjunctive with *falloir*. However, one question still remains

unanswered: how do speakers of Ontario French communicate necessity when they do not use *falloir*? The next section will shed light on the expression of necessity more generally and describes how one particular alternative accounts for the differential rates of use of *falloir* in Ontario French.

5.5 The expression of necessity in Ontario French

In this section, I examine the expression of necessity using data from multiple sources: the 1978 corpus of student interviews (Mougeon and Beniak 1991), the 2005 corpus of student interviews (Mougeon et al. 2009) and the 2005 sub-corpus of student-directed teacher discourse in the classroom (Mougeon et al. 2009; Mougeon and Rehner 2014). I begin with a review of the literature and of the main findings for native and non-native speakers of French. I then provide examples of the range of expressions of necessity that have figured prominently in prior research; for present purposes, however, only two of these will be of interest. Finally, I report on the findings obtained from the sources mentioned above and explain how they relate to use of the subjunctive in Ontario French.

5.5.1 Previous research

There exists a small number of studies that have examined expressions of necessity in French in Canada. The earliest variationist work is Thibault (1991b), which is centred on the use of several French modal expressions, including necessity, in Montréal French. Lealess (2005) and F. Mougeon (2009) adopt a comparative approach to assess how both native and non-native speakers of French express necessity. In this research, a total of six different expressions were investigated (not every study deals with all six). Examples of

each expression, which are taken from the 1978 and 2005 corpora of spoken Ontario French, are provided below. The first two examples involve the impersonal verb *falloir*; in the embedded clause, a finite verb is selected in (46) but an infinitive in (47). Note that the form of the embedded finite verb with *falloir* + *que* does not figure in this discussion whereas it does in the analysis of the subjunctive. *Devoir* (48) is a deontic modal verb which also selects an infinitive, as do the expressions *être obligé de* (49), *avoir à* (50) and *avoir besoin de* (51):

(46) ***falloir* + *que***
Il **faut que** je prends l'autobus de la ville.
'I have to take the city bus.'
(N1-25: semi-restricted, middle class, male)

(47) ***falloir* + infinitive**[110]
Il **faut savoir** bien s'exprimer pour se faire comprendre.
'One has to know how to express oneself to be understood.'
(C1-27: unrestricted, middle class, female)

(48) ***devoir***
Tu **dois** connaître les deux langues.
'You have to know both languages.'
(P2-11: restricted, working class, female)

(49) ***être obligé de***
On a un cours d'anglais puis on **est obligé de** l'apprendre.
'We have an English course and we're obligated to learn it.'
(H2-11: unrestricted, lower-middle class, female)

(50) ***avoir à***
C'est le seul décision que j'**ai à** faire.
'It's the only decision that I have to make.'
(N2-08: restricted, middle class, male)

[110] Thibault (1991b: 210) did not look at this variant. To justify its exclusion, she writes "[b]ecause the subject of *falloir* is impersonal, it cannot be equivalent to *devoir*, unless it dominates a tensed verb with an explicit subject. Thus, *tu dois faire* 'you must do' could be replaced by *il faut que tu fasses* (lit. 'it must be that you do'), both carrying the same reference as well as the same modal meaning, but not by *il faut faire* 'it must be done', which erases the subject" (italics original).

(51) ***avoir besoin de***
Je vais **avoir besoin de** m'informer.
'I'll have to find out.'
(H1-10: unrestricted, lower-middle class, female)

In addition to these six expressions, some speakers of Ontario French also use an innovation that involves *falloir* reanalyzed as a personal verb. It may occur with either a full nominal subject, such as *ma mère* 'my mother' (52), or a subject clitic, such as the first person plural *on* 'we' (53):[111]

(52) **Personal *falloir***
Ma mère **faut** travailler tout l'été.
'My mom has to work all summer.'
(N2-02: restricted, lower-middle class, female)

(53) On **faut** avoir les deux langues pour survivre autour d'ici.
'We have to have both languages to survive around here.'
(P1-29: semi-restricted, working class, male)

In the research mentioned above, the expression of necessity was examined within a classic variationist framework. Several linguistic (e.g., grammatical person, source of the obligation) and social factors (e.g., social class, degree of exposure to French) were considered in order to uncover which constraints contribute to variant choice. Since my analysis does not go into this level of detail, I will highlight a few key findings that are directly relevant to the present study. In particular, I concentrate on the quantitative

[111] Lealess (p.c.) identified cases of personal *falloir* in the Sankoff and Thibault corpus of L2 French in Montréal (see Blondeau et al. 2002 for a description of this corpus). Grammarians who mention personal *falloir* proscribe its use (e.g., Wanostrocht 1789; Nugent 1830; Girard 1871), which they associate with non-native speakers. The examples of personal *falloir* (in (52) and (53)) must be distinguished from personal *falloir* which selects a clause containing a coreferential subject. The latter is attested in the Ottawa-Hull corpus (*Mais je fallais j'y alle la mener puis aller la chercher* 'But I had to go take her there and pick her up'; example (4a) from Poplack 1990, my translation) and in Abram-Village, Prince Edward Island (*Quand je faut je parle à lui, je parle anglais* 'When I have to speak to him, I speak in English'). (I thank Ruth King for providing me access to her corpus of French spoken in Prince Edward Island.)

distributions for *falloir* + *que* and deontic *devoir*, which constitute the most frequent expressions of necessity in previous studies.[112]

In Thibault's (1991b) study, *falloir* + *que* (88%, n=1135/1289) is used considerably more than deontic *devoir* (12%, n=154/1289) in spontaneous speech. The figures that Thibault reports are based on data from a sample of 60 native speakers in the 1971 and 1984 corpora of Montréal French (D. Sankoff and G. Sankoff 1973; Thibault and Vincent 1990). A regression analysis of the social factors reveals that *devoir* is strongly associated with high-status speakers, with a factor weight of .84 (1991: Table 7). Thus, in Montréal French *devoir* is perceived as a prestige variant. Lealess (2005) also finds use of *falloir* + *que* (98%, n=429/438) to be the leading expression of necessity as compared with *devoir* (2%, n=9/438) in a sample of 22 native French speakers from the Ottawa-Hull corpus. As for use of these expressions in corpora for non-native (L2) speakers of French, Lealess (2005) and F. Mougeon (2009) arrive at different distributions, which vary by corpus (e.g., university undergraduates in Toronto, high school immersion students in Toronto, Anglophones living in Montréal). In general, non-native speakers outside of Montréal tend to 'overuse' *devoir* at the expense of *falloir* + *que*. The most extreme example of this pattern is found in the results for 41 immersion students in Toronto. Lealess (2005: Table 3) found that the speakers in the Mougeon/Nadasdi 1996 corpus of immersion French rarely use *falloir* + *que* (1%, n=3/296) as opposed to *devoir* (99%, n=293/296).[113] In contrast, Lealess' (2005) examination of the data from the Sankoff and Thibault corpus of L2 French in Montréal (Blondeau et al. 2002) reveals that these speakers opt for *devoir* (19%, n=14/72) only

[112] I have modified the distributions reported in previous studies to draw attention to only *falloir* + *que* and *devoir*; the figures for other expressions of necessity are excluded from the totals.
[113] For details on the Mougeon/Nadasdi 1996 Toronto immersion corpus, see Mougeon et al. (2010).

slightly more than their Francophone counterparts.[114] That second-language speakers living in Montréal have acquired a more native-like pattern is in no small part due to heightened exposure to vernacular French.

Briefly, two main observations can be drawn from prior research on the expression of necessity: 1) native speakers of Laurentian French (e.g., in Montréal and in Ottawa-Hull) use *falloir* + *que* more frequently than *devoir*, which is the less frequent, more formal structure; and 2) although they tend to prefer *devoir*, non-native speakers of French increase their use of *falloir* + *que* as their exposure to the native-like pattern becomes more pronounced. The findings discussed here serve as an important backdrop against which I evaluate the relationship between use of *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* in the Franco-Ontarian communities.

5.5.2 Excluded data

Although my analysis is concerned uniquely with *falloir* + *que* and *devoir*, I adhere to the protocol adopted by Thibault (1991b) and Lealess (2005) to determine which data should be excluded. These involve cases of *devoir* which relay notions of epistemic modality (54); expressions that appear in the conditional (55), as they usually do not convey necessity (also, when *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* are in the conditional, they lose their semantic equivalence); and, finally, negated expressions (56). Thibault (1991b) discarded all negated tokens of *falloir* + *que*, *devoir* and of the passive construction *être obligé de*

[114] This interpretation is somewhat misleading. The L2 speakers of Montréal French display equal use of *falloir que* (n=58) and *falloir* + infinitive (n=54).

because, unlike in the case of the first two expressions, negation with *être obligé de* bears on the obligation itself, not on the embedded proposition.[115]

(54) **Epistemic devoir**
Si les autres ils rient *I guess* ça **doit** être drôle.
'If everyone else is laughing, I guess it must be funny.'
(N2-29: semi-restricted, working class, female)

(55) **Conditionals**
Tu viens de le dire; tu **devrais** le savoir.
'You just said it; you should know it.'
(H2-33: semi-restricted, middle class, female)

Il **faudrait** que ta mère te montre à parler comme ça.
'Your mother would have to show you how to talk like that.'
(H1-01: unrestricted, lower-middle class, female)

(56) **Negation**
Au dîner on **doit pas** aller dehors.
'At lunchtime we can't go outside.'
(P2-23: restricted, lower-middle, female)

On **n'est pas obligé de** dépenser autant d'argent.
'We're not obligated to spend so much money.'
(C1-01: unrestricted, lower-middle class, male)

5.5.3 Results

Below I provide the distributions for *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* using data extracted from three sources: the 1978 student corpus, the 2005 student corpus and the 2005 teacher sub-corpus.[116] Data from the 1978 corpus and from the 2005 corpus are compared and serve to trace the trajectory of *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* usage over time. Data from the sub-corpus of teacher interactions represent the educational input to which Franco-Ontarian

[115] While *être obligé de* falls out of the scope of the present discussion, I exclude negated tokens in order for this analysis to be comparable in design to Thibault (1991b) and Lealess (2005).
[116] For a complete list of expressions of necessity for the 1978 and 2005 student corpora and the 2005 teacher sub-corpus, see Appendix E.

students were exposed in 2005. With these data it is possible to ascertain whether teachers do influence language use among the minority students.

Table 4.48 displays the distributions for each category of language restriction in the 1978 corpus: *falloir* + *que* is the dominant expression (89%–94%) and use of *devoir* is minimal (6%–11%). These results are situated in the same ranges that Thibault (1991b) and Lealess (2005) identified for native French speakers in Montréal and the Ottawa-Hull region. In other words, Franco-Ontarian adolescents in 1978, regardless of degree of language restriction, conform to the same pattern as other speakers of Laurentian varieties of French.

	Restricted		Semi-restricted		Unrestricted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
falloir + *que*	49	89	155	94	106	92	310	93
devoir	6	11	10	6	9	8	25	7
Total	55	100	165	100	115	100	335	100

TABLE 4.48 Distribution of *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* in Ontario French (1978)

The results from Table 4.48 are also plotted in Figure 4.2. Given previous accounts suggesting that increased access to a native-like pattern translates into greater use of *falloir* + *que*, it is striking to see minimal use of *devoir* at the restricted end of the continuum as well as a remarkably high degree of stability in the frequency of occurrence of both expressions for all speaker types. In the 1978 corpus, the native-like pattern prevailed throughout all three levels of language restriction.

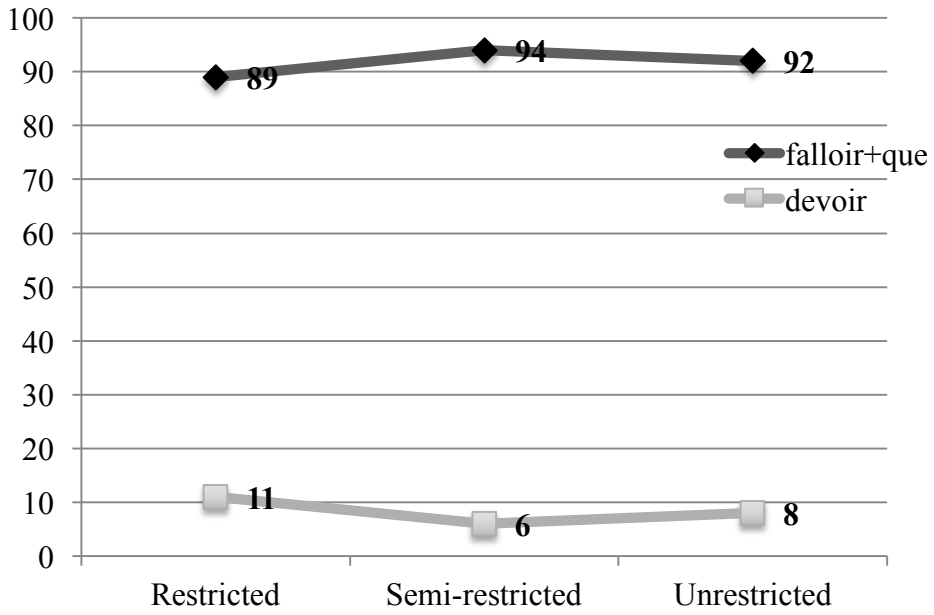


FIGURE 4.2 Distribution of *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* in Ontario French (1978)

An altogether different pattern emerges in the data taken from the 2005 corpus of student interviews. The results, which are organized by community and category of language restriction, appear in Table 4.49.

	Restricted		Semi-restricted		Unrestricted		Total	
Hawkesbury	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + *que*	n/a	n/a	148	94	360	99	508	98
devoir	n/a	n/a	9	6	3	1	12	2
Total	n/a	n/a	157	100	363	100	520	100
CW / NB	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + *que*	168	55	189	81	79	99	436	70
devoir	139	45	45	19	1	1	185	30
Total	307	100	234	100	80	100	621	100
Pembroke	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + *que*	37	21	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	37	21
devoir	141	79	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	141	79
Total	178	100	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	178	100

TABLE 4.49 Distribution of *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* in Ontario French (2005)

In 2005, speakers in Hawkesbury and unrestricted speakers in the minority towns of Cornwall and North Bay maintain high rates of *falloir* + *que* (94%–99%) whereas use of *devoir* is very rare (1%–6%). For speakers exhibiting the lowest levels of language restriction, the proportionate use of the expressions of necessity shows no sign of having undergone a change. Such is clearly not the case for the semi-restricted speakers and restricted speakers. As restriction in the use of French advances at the level of both the community and the individual, there is a steady rise in use of *devoir* (19%–79%) and a concomitant decrease in use of *falloir* + *que* (81%–21%). Contrary to the situation in 1978, progressively diminished access to the native-like norm a generation later has led to a surge in use of *devoir* in the minority francophone communities. Figure 4.3 captures the findings for all speakers and communities in the 2005 corpus.

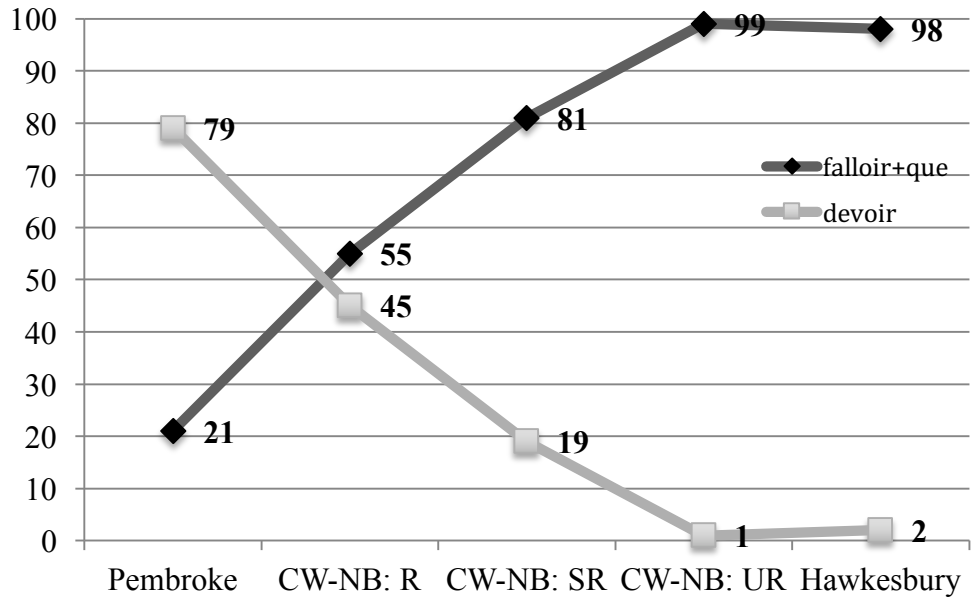


FIGURE 4.3 Distribution of *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* in Ontario French (2005)

A comparison of the results in real time raises one obvious question: what is the probable cause of the dramatic rise in use of formal *devoir* over the past 28 years? In

other words, what has led to the development of this case of sociostylistic reduction? In previous research based on the 1978 corpus (e.g., Mougeon and Beniak 1991; Mougeon 2005; *inter alia*), it had been predicted that the French-medium school may contribute to higher than usual rates of frequency of formal and/or standard structures in the speech of certain Franco-Ontarian students. Recall that for many of these adolescents, especially those in the restricted range, the formal learning environment constitutes the predominant or sole area of contact with the French language. The sub-corpus of 59 teachers (which forms part of the Mougeon, Nadasdi and Rehner 2005 corpus) recorded during lessons in French-medium schools located in Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke makes it possible to empirically verify these predictions. I examine the use of *falloir + que* and *devoir* in the classroom and ascertain whether the elevated rates of *devoir* in the minority communities are ascribable to educational input. The distributions from the 2005 teacher sub-corpus are provided in Table 4.50.[117]

	Pembroke		North Bay		Cornwall		Hawkesbury		Total	
	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	109	47	159	44	106	51	101	56	475	48
devoir	121	53	204	56	102	49	80	44	507	52
Total	230	100	363	100	208	100	181	100	982	100

TABLE 4.50 Distribution of *falloir + que* and *devoir* in the teacher sub-corpus (2005)

It is quite striking to see in the results for the in-class teacher discourse that use of *falloir + que* and *devoir* is almost equal, oscillating between 44% and 56% in all four communities. These results diverge sharply from Thibault's (1991b) and Lealess' (2005) findings, which show that in spontaneous speech native speakers rarely select *devoir*

[117] The results here are presented in the aggregate for each community. Further research might determine if variability is conditioned by other factors such as the course (e.g., French language, science, geometry, etc.) or the teachers' social characteristics (e.g., sex, age). See Mougeon et al. (2009) and Mougeon and Rehner (2014) for studies that examine the use of linguistic variables in the teacher corpus.

(2%–12%). As can be seen in Table 4.50, native speakers of French clearly do increase their rate of frequency of *devoir* when they find themselves in a formal environment. Note that high rates for *devoir* cannot be attributed to second-language speaking teachers since the vast majority of them are native speakers of French (n=56) from Ontario (n=46) or Québec (n=10).[118] The results from the 2005 teacher sub-corpus are also reproduced in Figure 4.4.

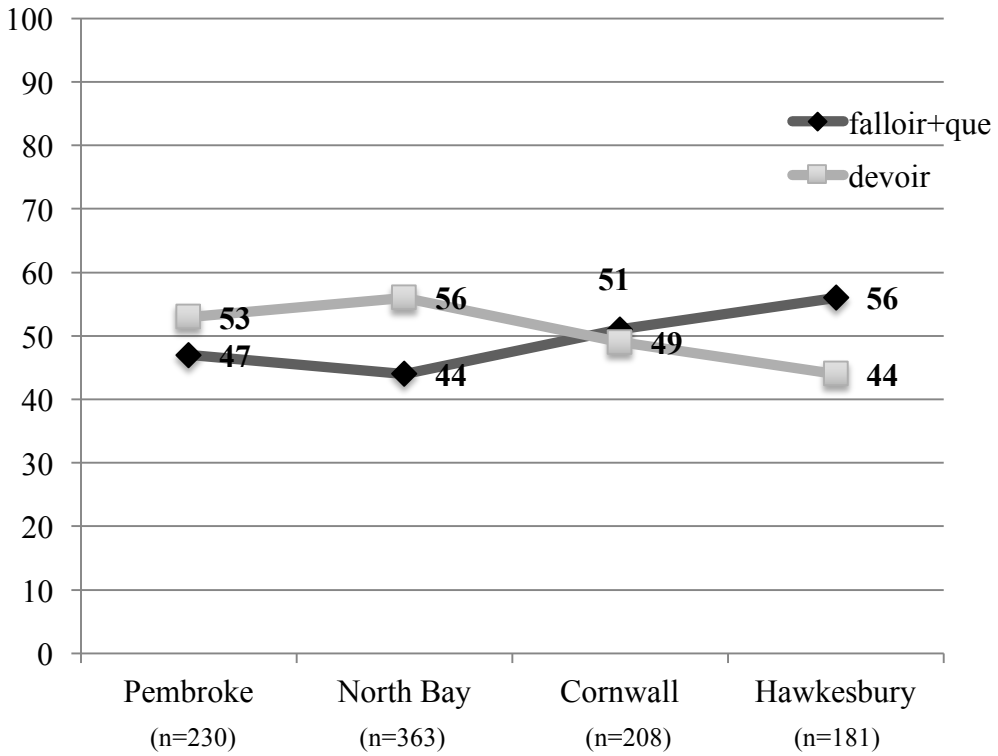


FIGURE 4.4 Distribution of *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* in the teacher sub-corpus (2005)

That the proportionate use of *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* remains consistent in the speech of the teachers throughout all four communities means that all Franco-Ontarian adolescents receive essentially the same educational input. The influence that this input has on students experiencing the lowest levels of language restriction is minimal, as these

[118] Only two teachers identify as English speaking: one in North Bay (*devoir*: n=15; *falloir* + *que*: n=12) and one in Pembroke (*devoir*: n=18; *falloir* + *que*: n=0).

speakers conform more closely to the norm associated with spontaneous Laurentian French (i.e., high rates for *falloir* + *que* and low rates for *devoir*). However, for students outside of Hawkesbury who experience mid- to intense levels of language restriction, this influence seems clear. The more their access to spoken informal French is reduced, the more their contact with the community pattern is compromised and the more they orient toward the norm espoused by the school (i.e., the bastion of formal and/or standard language usage). As a consequence, rates for *falloir* + *que* decline to the benefit of *devoir*, to the extent that some adolescents 'outperform' their teachers in their use of the formal variant. For example, the cohort of speakers in the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus employ *devoir* at a rate of 79% (n=141/178), some 26% more than their teachers do (53%, n=121/230). In fact, these speakers appear to be the only ones at risk of monostylism, with *devoir* being their dominant expression of necessity. Nevertheless, they have not entirely failed to acquire the expression *falloir* + *que*, as is the case with students in the Toronto immersion corpus.

5.5.4 Discussion

I return to the question posed earlier: how do speakers of Ontario French communicate necessity when they do not use *falloir*? At this point the answer may seem obvious. In looking beyond the context of the subjunctive, we see that when *falloir* + *que* functions as an expression of necessity, it is rivalled by *devoir*.[119] A comparison of the distributions for *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* in the 1978 and 2005 corpora suggests that this rivalry represents a change in the language, but not for all speakers. The analysis of the data

[119] See Aaron (2010) for a study that demonstrates the merits of looking beyond the variable context to better understand observations made within it.

from the 1978 corpus shows that speakers across all groups of language restriction employed *falloir* + *que* (89%–94%) much more frequently than *devoir* (6%–11%). In the 2005 corpus, the same pattern persists only for speakers in Hawkesbury and for unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay. Contrastingly, in the speech of the semi-restricted and restricted speakers in the minority communities, use of *devoir* climbs incrementally (19%–45%–79%) at the expense of *falloir* + *que* (81%–55%–21%).

I also return to another pertinent question: what is the probable cause of the dramatic rise in use of formal *devoir* over the past 28 years? The results for the 2005 teacher sub-corpus show that the French-medium school is one source of the elevated rates of *devoir*, but only for semi-restricted and restricted speakers in Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke. The analysis of the in-class teacher recordings lends support to Mougeon's and his colleagues' predictions that the formal learning context of the French-medium school can influence patterns of variation. However, as the above findings suggest, the effect of this input is likely negligible for those who exhibit little to no restriction in the use of French (e.g., speakers in Hawkesbury and unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay).

It is important to consider that other factors (or a combination thereof) may also have a part to play in the expansion of *devoir*, specifically in the minority locales. Firstly, it is not exceptional for restricted and semi-restricted speakers in the minority communities to prefer French structures that are morphosyntactically less complex (Mougeon and Beniak 1995) or similar to an English-based feature (Beniak and Mougeon 1988). In choosing *falloir* + *que*, a speaker opts for an impersonal verb which subcategorizes for a complement clause that requires a finite verb in the subjunctive

mood (albeit not always unambiguously marked as such). However, in choosing *devoir*, the same speaker opts for a simpler construction, one that subcategorizes for a non-finite verb in the embedded clause and that is, incidentally, syntactically aligned with the English equivalent. This is illustrated below:

Il faut que je parte
It necessary-3SG.PRES.IND that I leave-1PS.PRES.SUBJ

Je dois partir
I need-1SG.PRES.IND leave.INF

I need to leave
I 1SG.PRES.IND leave.INF

Furthermore, I would argue that for such speakers the advantages of 'overusing' *devoir* outweigh any disadvantages. Perhaps the most perceptible negative outcome would be the loss of *devoir*'s status as an element of formal language, which merely impacts the speaker's sociostylistic competence. Yet the benefits are multiple: the speaker

- uses an acceptable structure of French origin;
- adheres to a model that is reinforced by her teachers;
- avoids the complex morphology of the subjunctive mood;
- evades correction if she fails to use the subjunctive mood; and
- evades correction if she uses personal *falloir*.

I demonstrated in previous sections that mood choice in the Ontario French corpora is intimately connected with the relative frequency of *falloir*, the verbal matrix construction which accounts for the majority of tokens of the subjunctive in Canadian varieties of French. In light of the findings for *falloir* + *que* and *devoir*, I propose that the progressive decline in frequency of the subjunctive in the communities and categories of

language restriction in the 2005 corpus is attributed to the behaviour of *devoir*. In adopting *devoir* as the preferred expression of necessity, speakers subsequently avoid *falloir* + *que* and, crucially, the opportunity to use the subjunctive mood itself.

6.0 Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed that both social and linguistic factors influence mood choice in the Franco-Ontarian communities. With respect to the findings for social factors, we saw that subjunctive usage is associated with social class for speakers in the Hawkesbury sub-corpus. However, this result obtains only in a very specific part of the variable context, specifically in the embedded clause with low-frequency 'other' verbs (i.e., excluding *être*, *avoir*, *aller* and *faire*). That middle-class speakers favour the subjunctive in this context more than do their lower-middle class and working class counterparts suggests that the subjunctive mood has some social significance in this community. In contrast, in the Cornwall and North Bay sub-corpora, the only social factor to affect mood choice in these minority communities is degree of language restriction: the greater the degree of language restriction, the greater the probability a verb form other than the subjunctive will be used. The effect of language restriction is most pronounced in the data for Pembroke. Tokens of the subjunctive mood are quite limited since only a small number of subjunctive-selecting contexts were used.

The full range of results for the linguistic factors in each of the communities and language restriction groups is too broad to repeat here. That said, the most important finding for the linguistic factors is the role of matrix *falloir* as the chief subjunctive-selecting context. It was found that as language restriction intensifies, use of *falloir*

decreases to the benefit of deontic *devoir*, which, in turn, reduces the opportunity to select the subjunctive mood. The effect of *devoir* was determined by examining data beyond the variable context for mood choice and investigating expressions of necessity. An examination of the interplay between *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* as expressions of necessity in Ontario French shows that the rise of the latter expression represents a real-time change in the language, but only for speakers exhibiting mid to high levels of language restriction. In the 1978 corpus, *devoir* was a minor variant for all levels of language restriction; however, in the 2005 corpus, its frequency was considerably higher, to the point of becoming the dominant expression of necessity in Pembroke. Moreover, the relevant distributions drawn from the 2005 teacher sub-corpus suggest that educational input is a possible source of the rise of *devoir* in the speech of semi-restricted and restricted speakers. In other words, the model of the French-medium school may indeed have a role to play in this particular case of language change.

Finally, I address Laurier's (1989) claim that reduced use of the subjunctive mood in Ontario French is an example of language change motivated by contact with English. In his analysis, which is based on data from the 1978 corpus, Laurier found that selection of the subjunctive related to degree of language restriction, whereby restricted speakers were the least likely to use this mood. My analyses of the data from the 2005 corpus also show that restricted speakers had the lowest rates for the subjunctive. I argued that this is due to a preference for *devoir*, which increases in frequency according to language restriction. However, the same argument cannot be made for the 1978 corpus, since *devoir* usage was minimal overall at that time. Thus, even if Laurier had investigated variation between *falloir* + *que* and *devoir* in the expression of necessity, the results of

such an analysis would not have helped explain the reduction in mood choice he reports for the 1978 corpus. Rather, it is likely that Laurier's conclusions were influenced by the design of the study itself (see Section 3.1.2). Recall that I could not undertake a systematic analysis of the data for verbal matrix constructions from the 1978 corpus due to the small size of the data set: a total of 278 tokens for 117 speakers in four communities and three language restriction groups. In sum, the 1978 corpus does not provide enough evidence to be able to draw any solid conclusions with regard to the variable use of the subjunctive mood, whether these conclusions relate to language contact or not. This is not the case for the 2005 corpus, which does lend itself well to detailed analyses of mood choice along the continuum of language restriction.

CHAPTER 5: Future temporal reference in Ontario French

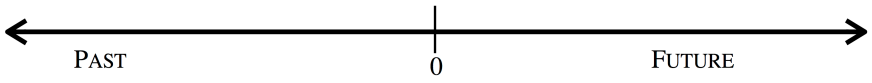
1.0 Introduction

Whereas the preceding chapter dealt with mood choice, the present chapter is concerned with future temporal reference in Ontario French. I begin with a brief discussion of tense as a grammatical category. I then provide a history of the main variants used to express futurity, specifically the periphrastic future, the inflected future and the futurate present. The historical component contains three sub-sections which include an overview of grammatical commentary, an analysis of the variation between the periphrastic future and inflected future in theatrical representations dating to the 17th century and, finally, a short discussion of the gradual decline of the inflected future in French. Next, I provide a review of previous studies that have examined future temporal reference in varieties of French using variationist methods. I cover both the social factors and the linguistic factors that have been found to contribute to variant choice in this body of work.

The bulk of this chapter contains the results of quantitative analyses of data from the 1978 corpus of Ontario French and then the 2005 corpus. For each point in time, the results for the social factors precede those for the linguistic factors. I conclude this chapter with a summary of the findings for sentential polarity, which is the most important linguistic factor with respect to the selection of the periphrastic future and inflected future variants. I argue that the vitality of the latter variant is contingent on a strong polarity constraint and that when its strength is compromised, so, too, is the use of the inflected future.

1.1 Tense and futurity

As I indicated in the previous chapter, the three basic grammatical categories of the verb phrase are tense, aspect and modality. Whereas the subjunctive mood relates to the third of these categories, the expression of future temporal reference relates to the first. There is no universally accepted criteria for what constitutes tense (Binnick 1991, and references therein). In its most fundamental conception, and indeed the most longstanding, tense concerns the anchoring of an event along a time axis that is divided into three basic deictic reference points: past, present and future. This three-way division is schematized as follows (Comrie 1985: Figure 1):



Comrie (1985: 43) defines future tense very succinctly as "locating a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment". According to Fleishman (1982), futurity belongs to the larger category of posteriority. What distinguishes these two concepts is that futurity is temporally situated after utterance time, i.e., "the time at which the speaker actually produced the utterance" (Fleishman 1982: 7), whereas posteriority means that one event sequentially follows another in time. This relationship is captured in Figure 5.1 below:

	POSTERIORITY		
	FUTURITY		
French	je chanterai 'I will sing'	je vais chanter 'I am going to sing'	j'allais chanter 'I was going to sing'

FIGURE 5.1 Futurity and posteriority in French (adapted from Fleishman 1982: Table 2b)

As can be seen in Figure 5.1, the examples with the inflected future (*je chanterai*) and the periphrastic future (*je vais chanter*) contain propositions that refer to some point that follows utterance time. In contrast, the example with the past periphrastic future (*j'allais chanter*) refers to an event that was to occur after a point in time which is anchored in the past.

In the analyses that follow, I omit all contexts that belong to the category of posteriority, as well as any other dimension of futurity viewed from the past, for example future-of-the-past readings with the conditional, e.g. "I said – two weeks ago – that I would do it" (Fleischman 1982: 37, ex. 28). Rather, in keeping with the tradition established for most variationist studies of future temporal reference, I limit the scope of my analyses to the inclusion of variants that express futurity only.

2.0 History of the future variants in French

2.1 Overview of grammatical commentary

The evolution and development of the inflected future in French has a long and well-documented history. During the 6th and 8th centuries, the phonology of (Gallo-)Romance underwent important sound changes which further distinguished the verbal paradigm from that of Classical Latin. One consequence of these changes was a loss of the phonetic contrasts that differentiated the future tense from the present indicative. By way of example, with /i/ having become /e/ in Romance, the 3SG synthetic form *leg-e-t* was ambiguous and no longer distinguished 'She will read' (Cl. Latin: *leg-e-t*) from 'She reads' (Cl. Latin: *leg-i-t* > *leg-e-t*).[120] Such ambiguity led to the development of a new

[120] The original Latin future did not survive in any of the Romance languages (see Zink 1989; Revol 2000).

future composed of an infinitive followed by a conjugation of the verb *habere* 'to have', e.g., *legere habet* 'She has to read'. Initially, *habere* served a modal function expressing obligation. Over time, however, the conjugations of *habere* were reanalyzed as temporal affixes which were eventually postposed to the infinitive, thus creating, by the 10th century, a new synthetic construction. The first known attestation of this is *daras* 'you will give' (Modern French: *tu donneras*) (Étienne 1895/1980: IX, 4°; Wartburg 1962: 43–44; Brunot and Bruneau 1969: 305; Revol 2000: 139–140). It is this synthetic variant that persists today in contemporary French as the *futur simple* or inflected future.

Until approximately the 15th century, the inflected form was the most frequent means to express future outcomes, independent of when the event was predicted to take place. Evidence in early grammars suggests that when a speaker wished to specify temporal reference, she did so by way of adverbs or time adverbials. Meigret (1550/1969: 92) writes in his *Tretté de la grammere françoeze* that "Ao regard du futur, nou' ne le diuizons point qe par auerbes, ou noms temporlz: come je le ferey a cet' heure, meintenant, demein, dedans huyt iours".[121]

While the inflected form was certainly the most common way to make reference to the future, there also existed other alternative methods for expressing a range of aspectual, temporal and modal meanings for the future; their use, however, was more restricted by comparison. This is the case for periphrases formed with the modal verbs *devoir* 'must, to need to' and *vouloir* 'to want to', which, according to Gougenheim (1929/1971: Chapters 2–3), have been used to signal a future time since the Old French

[121] With respect to the future, we divide it only with adverbs or temporal nouns, as in I will do it immediately (lit. at this hour), now, tomorrow, within eight days (my translation).

period (9th–14th centuries) (Étienne 1895/1980; Gougenheim 1973; Marchello-Nizia 1997).[122]

Beginning in the 15th century, a number of new variants began to emerge in the language, in particular periphrastic ones that expressed aspectual nuances of temporal proximity, such as *être pour* + infinitive 'to be about to' and *aller* + infinitive 'to go' (Gougenheim 1929/1971; Haase 1965 §69.B; Marchelo-Nizia 1997; Posner 1997). Note that early grammarians often did not mention the existence of these competing constructions and therefore did not identify the range of contexts in which the inflected future should be used as opposed to these other variants. Instead, their treatment of the future tense tended to assume the primacy of the inflected future, often providing only a basic definition of what a chronological future is (e.g., Regnier-Desmarais 1707; Restaut 1797) or tables of conjugations for French verbs or verb classes (Ramée 1562/1969; Bellot 1588/1970; Maupas 1625; Oudin 1645; Festeau 1667/1971). This may be because, as suggested in Regnier-Demarais (1707: 350), certain grammarians preferred to separate *temps futur* 'future tense' (i.e., the inflected future) from *temps à venir* 'time to come' (i.e., various periphrastic constructions).

By far the most important variant to co-exist with the inflected future was the periphrastic future with *aller*, which grammaticalized into an auxiliary for marking a future time. There is some debate as to when precisely the newly formed periphrastic future first appeared in French, since it originated in the spoken language well before making its way into written texts. Fleischman (1982) proposes that the grammaticalization of *aller* dates to the 13th or 14th century. Yet it wasn't until the 15th

[122] The *vouloir* + infinitive variant exists today in Romanian as the default future marker.

century that use of the periphrastic future really began its expansion, especially in *le français populaire* (Gougenheim 1929/1971: 98). Its association with oral vernacular French is supported by the fact that the periphrastic form was, at least initially, met with some resistance on the part of the literary elite: "[l]es écrivains du XVe et du XVIe siècle mettent la périphrase avec *aller* ou *s'en aller* dans la bouche des personnages qu'ils font parler, mais ne l'emploient pas pour leur propre compte" (Gougenheim 1929/1971: 99, italics original).[123]

The verb *aller* was a suitable candidate for the formation of the analytic future, as it was already used before the 15th century as an auxiliary in other (semantically unrelated) periphrastic constructions, in addition to its function as a verb of movement. For instance, it served as an auxiliary for one periphrastic construction that expressed inchoative aspect in the past (e.g., "*et lors il me va dire*…" 'and then he began to say to me...', ex. from Gougenheim 1973: 136) and for another that expressed durative aspect (e.g., "*elle va chantant*" 'she goes while singing', ex. from Vaugelas 1647: 185).[124] Like its inchoative and durative counterparts, the periphrastic future with *aller* was created using resources already in place in the language (Martin 1971: 140).

It is perhaps in Antoine Cauchie's French grammar, published in 1586, where the earliest attestation of the existence of the periphrastic future is to be found. Cauchie, who was from Picardie in the north of France, observed that in the late 16th century the *aller* + infinitive construction expressed one particular type of future outcome, specifically, imminent futures. He substantiates this claim with one example of its use : "Je vous vai dire ce que vous i gaignerez" 'I'm going to tell you what you will get out of it' (Modern

[123] Writers in the 15th and 16th century used the periphrasis with *aller* or *s'en aller* for the speech of their characters, but not for their own speech (my translation).
[124] For details on the evolution of the durative construction, see Gougenheim (1929/1971: 2–36).

French: Je vais vous dire ce que vous y gagnerez) (Cauchie 1586: 371).[125] Note that it is by no means a coincidence that in Cauchie's example the periphrastic future occurs with the 1SG subject pronoun. Gougenheim (1973: 136) states that the periphrastic future frequently appears with the 1SG pronoun, an observation that he supports with examples from 16th century works by Rabelais and Marguerite de Navarre.

Cauchie also provides what might be the first explicit mention of variation between the periphrastic future and the inflected future. Although he does not identify where in the language variability occurs, it can be assumed to be in the environment of imminent futures. This is corroborated by other language resources which aimed to promote *le bon usage* or 'proper usage', such as dictionaries, English-to-French translation phrase books and model dialogues in French. According to such sources, which date from the 17th century onward, the exclusive function of the periphrastic future is that of a marker of proximal future actions. For instance, the Port-Royal Grammar (Arnauld and Lancelot 1660/1967: 104) states that the periphrastic construction refers to "une chose qui doit arriver bientôt" ('a thing which is to arrive soon') and the *Académie Française*, in the inaugural edition of its French grammar (Institut de France 1694), writes that "*Aller*, Se met devant presque tous les verbes, & sert à exprimer que les choses signifiées par ces verbes sont sur le point de se faire."[126] In a series of English-to-French translations aimed at L2 learners of French, Festeau (1667/1971: 182) provides "Je m'en vais prendre congé de vous" as a translation for "I am going to take my leave of you". Moreover, in a French grammar produced for the Duke of Glocester, Boyer

[125] It is interesting to note that Cauchie (1586) qualifies the use of the periphrastic future in spoken French as elegant. His opinion therefore contrasts with that of the literary elite.
[126] *Aller*, is placed before almost all verbs and serves to indicate that the things signified by these verbs are about to take place (my translation).

(1694/1971: 205) makes use of the periphrastic future in model dialogues aimed at L2 learners. In an exchange between two men playing chess, one says to the other "J'en suis bien aise car je m'en vai prendre ce *Fou*, & vous *donner* Echec", which Boyer translates as "I am glad of it, for I am going to take this Bishop and check you." Note, too, that Claude de Vaugelas, one of the most prominent linguistic commentators of the time, also writes with the periphrastic future when introducing an argument in his *Remarques sur la langue française* (Vaugelas 1647/1996).

In the centuries that follow and up to the present day, the examples and definitions provided for the periphrastic future remain constant. It is widely acknowledged as the preferred variant for events with present relevance – hence its designation in most grammars as the *futur proche* or near future – which are reputed to be impending, imminent, certain and unavoidable (Regnier-Desmarais 1707; Furetière 1721; La Touche 1730; Antonini 1753; Féraud 1768; Demandre 1802; Dauzat 1958; Sauvageot 1962; Chevalier and Blanche-Benveniste 1964; Price 1971; Dubois and Lagane 1973; Grevisse and Goosse 2008, *inter alia*). Similarly, the functions allocated to the inflected future – the principal variant to refer to abstract, unverified, unasserted and hypothetical outcomes (i.e., it has both modal and temporal meaning) – have persisted over time (Dauzat 1958; Fleschman 1982; Franckel 1984; Grevisse and Goosse 2008). Indeed, that the inflected future is regarded as possessing modal properties is exemplified by the fact that in grammars dating from the mid-17th century to present today, the inflected future is the only variant prescribed with the conjunction *quand* 'when' (e.g., "Quand vous craindrez qu'il ne vous advienne quelque disgrace, il faudra bien que vous passiez par

là"; ex. from Chifflet 1659/1973: 103) and in conditional clauses with *si* 'if' (e.g., "Si je le trouve, je le lui diray"; ex. from Regnier-Desmarais 1707: 351).[127]

In addition to the inflected future and the periphrastic future with *aller*, there is also one other variant that can express a future outcome: the *praesens pro futuro* or futurate present. Unlike the other variants, use of the present as an exponent of futurity is not an innovation in French: "cet emploi du présent a toujours été connu" (Étienne 1895/1980: §331; see also Harris 1978: 144–145).[128] It is, rather, a feature inherited from Latin.[129] Poplack and Dion (2009: Table 4), who compiled and analyzed the commentary for each of the three future variants in 163 grammars published between 1530 and 1998, found that over the period they examined the most frequent reading associated with the futurate present is proximate or immediate outcome.

In general, the futurate present is mentioned in grammars less frequently than the inflected and periphrastic future forms. When it is mentioned, its co-occurrence with some kind of temporal adverb or time adverbial is usually highlighted. For French in the 16th century, Cauchie (1586: 371, italics original) writes that "il ne faut pas ignorer que les verbes présents sont placés auprès de termes du temps futur [...]: *Je fai demain un banquet*".[130] His observation is echoed more than a century and a half later in Antonini (1753: 326, italics original), according to whom "Le *Présent* a quelquefois la signification du *futur*, lorsqu'on le joint à un adverbe ou à quelque autre mot qui le détermine à ce sens. Ex. Nous partons *demain*. Je reviens *dans un moment*. C'est comme

[127] When you fear that you will be disgraced, you must overcome it (my translation) – If I find him, I will let him know (my translation).
[128] This use for the present has always been known (my translation).
[129] See Leiwo (2010) for a discussion of the pragmatic and stylistic uses of the futurate present in the writings of Petronius (1st century AD).
[130] We must not forget that that verbs in the present are placed next to terms for the future time [...]: *Tomorrow I am having a banquet* (my translation).

si l'on disoit: *Nous partirons demain, je reviendrai dans un moment*."[131] During the same period, Féraud (1786: 220, 6˚, italics original) writes, "On se sert souvent du présent, pour exprimer un futur: *Je reviens* sur mes pas; je *suis* à vous dans l'instant; Où *allez*-vous ce soir, &c? c'est-à-dire, je *reviendrai* bientôt, je *serai* à vous dans l'instant, où *irez*-vous ce soir, &c?"[132] Note that both Antonini and Féraud appear to view the futurate present as equivalent to the inflected future, despite the fact that many of the examples they provide express an imminent action which otherwise falls squarely in the domain of the periphrastic future. Furthermore, their examples include mostly verbs of movement, such as *partir* 'to leave', *revenir* 'to come back' and *aller* 'to go'. This relationship between the futurate present and verbs of movement is entirely in line with the literature on this variant. For instance, Binnick (1991: 55) observes that "... in a great many languages the present tense may be used for the future, especially with verbs of motion".

2.2 The periphrastic future and the inflected future in 17th-century theatrical representations

To widen the scope of the historical data provided here, I examine the alternation between the periphrastic future and the inflected future in theatrical representations of spoken French using data from two plays written by Molière in the latter half of the 17th century. While sociolinguistic research privileges natural, spontaneous speech, i.e., the vernacular, which is "the most systematic data for linguistic analysis" (Labov 1984: 29), there is clearly no direct access to spontaneous speech of the period. If judiciously

[131] The *Present* sometimes has the meaning of *future*, when it is joined with an adverb or with some other word that determines this sense. Ex. We leave *tomorrow*. I am coming back *in a moment*. It's as though one said: *We will leave tomorrow*, *I will come back in a moment* (my translation).

[132] The present is often used to express a future: I *am coming back* straight away; I *am* with you in a moment; Where *are* you *going* tonight, etc.? That is to say, I *will come back* soon, I *will be* with you in a moment, where *will* you *go* tonight, etc.? (my translation).

selected, historical texts can indeed serve as a surrogate for natural speech data (Martineau and Mougeon 2003; Ayres-Bennett 2004; Lodge 2004; King et al. 2011).[133] The most suitable texts are those in which the authors attempt to provide a reflection of usage across a range of speech styles (e.g., careful vs. casual) and social dialects (e.g., of nobles, bourgeoisie, peasants). Lodge (2004) is particularly in favour of this approach, which he adopted in his research on the history of grammatical and phonological variables in Parisian French. He writes, "Not only do texts like this provide reliable evidence on the forms circulating in colloquial Parisian speech, but, like the grammarians, they offer valuable insights into the community's shared evaluative norms..." (2004: 119, cited in King et al. 2011: 479). The reason I chose work by Molière is because, like other comedic playwrights, he was sensitive to language use in its social context and "a ainsi placé au coeur de ses intrigues, la question de l'opposition des langages ('thus placed at the heart of his plots clashes between language varieties')" (Chaperon 2007: 157, cited in King et al. 2011: 479).

My own study is based on data drawn from two comedies, *Dom Juan* (1665) and *Georges Dandin* (1668). I tested for the contribution of three linguistic factors and one social factor to the selection of the periphrastic future. These are temporal distance from speech time (57), grammatical person or number (58) and adverbial specification (59):[134]

(57) **Temporal distance**
(a) Proximal
Je ferai quelque chose **ici** dont vous vous repentirez.
'I'll do something here that you will regret.'
(Angélique, *Georges Dandin*, III.vi)

[133] However, see Labov (1994) and Lodge (2004) for a discussion on the challenges associated with using such data and ways of overcoming them.
[134] The coding model for these data differs slightly from that for the data for Ontario French (see Section 4.0). I therefore provide examples from Molière's plays to illustrate the coding protocol I adhered to for this analysis. The examples shown here are identified by character name, play title, act number and scene.

(b) Distal
L'on verra quand je me marieray, laquelle des deux a mon coeur.
'We will see when I am married which of the two has my heart.'
(Dom Juan, *Dom Juan*, II.iv)

(58) **Grammatical person or number**
(a) First person singular
Charlote, **je** m'en vas te conter tout fin drait comme cela est venu.[135]
'Charlote, I'm going to tell you exactly how it happened.'
(Pierrot, *Dom Juan*, II.i)

(b) Other person/number
Je gage qu'**elle** va vous dire que je lui ai promis de l'épouser.
'I bet she is going to tell you that I promised to marry her.'
(Dom Juan, *Dom Juan*, II.iv)

(59) **Adverbial specification**
(a) Present
Promettez-moi donc, Madame, que je pourrai vous parler **cette nuit**.
'Promise me then, Lady, that I may speak with you tonight.'
(Clitandre, *Georges Dandin*, II.x)

(b) Absent
Pour moi je vais faire semblant de rien.
'As for me I will pretend nothing.'
(Lubin, *Georges Dandin*, I.ii)

The only social factor coded for is social status, which I determined using the social class hierarchy employed in King et al.'s (2011) study of the evolution of first person plural pronouns in Hexagonal French. Three levels were distinguished: high (e.g., nobles), middle (e.g., artisans and merchants) and low (e.g., domestic servants and peasants).

Before turning to the results of the multivariate analysis, I first present the quantitative distribution for each variant. From the two comedies, I extracted a total of 235 unambiguous references to a future time, 12% (n=29/235) of which are in the

[135] In this example, *vas* and *drait* are phonetic approximations for their standard counterparts *vais* 'go' and *droit*.

periphrastic future and 88% (n=206/235) are in the inflected future. In late 17th century France, the inflected future would appear to have been the principal variant for expressing future. The rate of frequency of the periphrastic future is low because, as I show below, its use is highly constrained.

According to the statistical results displayed in Table 5.1, temporal distance, grammatical person and social status all contribute to the selection of the periphrastic form. With respect to temporal distance, the periphrastic future is highly favoured for proximal outcomes (factor weight=.79). This finding supports the longstanding claim that the primary function of the periphrastic future is a marker of imminent outcomes. In addition, and also in keeping with previous observations, the periphrastic construction is favoured with the first person singular pronoun *je* (factor weight=.66). Recall that this is the same pronoun used in examples of the periphrastic future provided in Cauchie (1586) and Gougenheim (1973) for the 16th century. Lastly, social status contributes to variant choice, whereby the periphrastic future is favoured by speakers in the middle and lower classes (factor weight=.75).[136] That characters associated with the highest social level disfavour this variant (factor weight=.40) suggests that in the 17th century the inflected form was the prestige variant. As such, if the periphrastic future carried with it some degree of stigma during the 15th and 16th centuries (Gougenheim 1929/1971), it seems the relative social value of this variant persisted at least until the time Molière was creating his plays.

[136] The data for middle and lower status characters were aggregated because in *Georges Dandin* there is only one lower status character, Lubin, who is a servant to Clitandre.

	FW	N	%
Temporal dist.			
Proximal	.79	18/70	26
Distal	.37	11/165	7
range	*42*		
Social status			
High	.40	15/172	9
Middle and low	.75	14/63	22
range	*35*		
Gramm. person			
1SG	.66	19/92	21
Other	.39	10/143	7
range	*27*		
Adv. spec.			
Present	[.54]	4/25	16
Absent	[.50]	25/210	12
Total N: 29/235			
Input: .08			
Significance: .010			
Log likelihood: -71.20			

TABLE 5.1 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic and social factors to the probability that the periphrastic future will be selected in 17th-century theatrical representations

It should of course be noted that the present analysis is based on a small number of tokens. A greater selection of similar historical texts would be needed to draw more solid conclusions based on variant usage for this period in time. Nevertheless, the overall results do provide some insight into the behaviour of the future variable at a prior stage in the language and do support the metalinguistic commentary summarized earlier.

2.3 Decline of the inflected future in French

In the overview of grammatical commentary for the subjunctive, I showed that there was a wide range of opinions in regard to the alleged decline in frequency of this mood in spoken French. With respect to the inflected future, there is no such debate: the decline of

the inflected future form is a linguistic fact which is supported by a wealth of diachronic evidence.

In my analysis of the expression of future temporal reference in the Molière sub-corpus, I argued that during the second half of the 17th century, the dominant construction for making reference to a future time in the French spoken in Paris was the inflected form, at 88% (n=206/235). Evidence from early 20th century linguistic commentators such as Bauche (1928) suggests that by that time the decline of the inflected future was sufficiently advanced in Paris to have been brought to public awareness. Bauche (1928: 119–120) writes that "Le futur traverse une crise en [langage populaire]" and that periphrastic constructions such as "« je veux partir », « je vais partir » sont plus fréquents... que « je partirai »."[137] French grammarians and linguistic commentators writing half a century later also share this view. Imbs (1960: 57) asserts that "Dans la langue de la conversation le futur périphrastique tend à remplacer le futur simple".[138] Finally, Cohen (1963: 269) notes that "de plus en plus, on emploie [le futur périphrastique] au lieu du futur simple, sans aucune nuance de proximité immédiate ou d'imminence."[139] Not only does Cohen speak to the comparatively elevated use of the periphrastic future in 20th-century France, he also sheds light on how this may have come to be: that competition between the two variants results from the spread of the periphrastic future outside the context of proximal and imminent outcomes.

[137] The future is in crisis in oral vernacular French (my translation). « I want to leave », « I am going to leave » are more frequent... than « I will leave » (my translation).
[138] In conversation, the periphrastic future tends to replace the simple future (my translation).
[139] More and more, the [periphrastic future] is used instead of the simple future, without any nuance of immediate proximity or imminence (my translation).

3.0 Previous research

In the section that follows, I summarize the main findings from empirical sociolinguistic research which has examined the expression of future temporal reference in varieties of French within a quantitative framework.[140] This body of research covers a large area of the *francophonie*, including varieties of French spoken in Canada (both Laurentian and Acadian varieties), the United States (Laurentian varieties spoken in New England), Hexagonal France and Martinique, an overseas territory of France. This review begins with a comparison of the proportionate distributions for the future variants reported in previous synchronic or diachronic studies, followed by a summary of the main findings for the social and linguistic factors that contribute to the selection of the future variants under study.

3.1 Proportionate distributions

The distributions for the future forms taken from variationist studies of future temporal reference are displayed in Table 5.2. According to these results, there is a high degree of variability in terms of the proportionate use of the future variants, for the periphrastic future and inflected future in particular. Use of the latter ranges from 12% (n=121/969) for Laurentian varieties in Massachusetts and Rhode Island (Stelling 2008) to as much as 53% (n=362/685) for Acadian varieties in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island (King and Nadasdi 2003). Thus, apart from the study of Newfoundland and Prince

[140] There exists a very large number of studies of the future variable in languages other than French. For varieties of Spanish, see, for example, Orozco (2005) and Aaron 2010); for Portuguese, Poplack and Malvar (2006); and, for English, Torres Cacoullos and Walker (2009). In addition to these studies are those which have looked at variability in data for second language speakers of French, such as Nadasdi et al. (2003), Lemée (2008), Howard (2009), Mougeon et al. (2010) and Blondeau et al. (2013). An exhaustive review of this body of research is beyond the scope of the present chapter.

Edward Island French, all other studies show that the periphrastic future is the most common variant to express a future outcome. This is also the case for Hexagonal varieties (Roberts 2012; Comeau and Villeneuve 2014), in which the inflected future accounts for approximately 40% of all future tokens.[141] Use of the inflected future in contemporary varieties – be it in France, Canada or elsewhere – is much less frequent than was found to be the case for 17th-century France, when, as discussed above, it was still the principal form. The distributions shown in Table 5.2 also lend support to the claim (e.g., Bauche 1928; Imbs 1960) that in Hexagonal French the overall use of the periphrastic future has increased at the expense of the inflected future. In fact, it would appear that this claim is applicable not only to French in France but to nearly all French varieties studied to date.

There is also a fair amount of variability in the proportionate distributions obtained for Laurentian and Acadian varieties. For example, conservative Acadian varieties spoken in Atlantic Canada show higher rates of use of the inflected future. King and Nadasdi (2003) found that this form (53%, n=362/685) occurred slightly more frequently than its periphrastic counterpart (47%, n=323/685) in corpora for French in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. For the variety spoken in Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia, Comeau (2015) reports a somewhat lower rate for the inflected future, at 38% (n=257/682), whereas the periphrastic future accounts for 62% (n=425/682) of the data.

[141] The rate of 40% is lower than that reported in other work for Hexagonal varieties. Using data from the GARS corpus (*Groupe Aixois de Recherches en Syntaxe*) housed at the Université de Provence, Jeanjean (1988) reports a rate of 42% (n=190/450) for the periphrastic future and 58% (n=260/450) for the inflected future. Note, however, that the envelope of variation in Jeanjean's study is not limited to temporal references in the future. She included non-temporal uses of the variants (e.g., habitual contexts) as well as cases of posteriority with the past periphrastic future (e.g., *j'allais partir*, 'I was going to leave'). A similar problem exists with Chevalier's (1996) study of the future variable in southeast New Brunswick. She did not distinguish true cases of future temporal references from non-temporal ones.

In contrast, in varieties of Laurentian French the periphrastic variant is certainly more frequently used for expressing future outcomes. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that its use in these varieties continues to rise over time. In mid 20th-century Québec French, the periphrastic future accounted for 56% (n=2630/4691) of references to the future, some 17% less than in the late 20th-century corpus Ottawa-Hull corpus, in which the periphrastic form accounts for 73% (n=2627/3594) of all future tokens (Poplack and Dion 2009).[142] Despite the fact that the rate of 73% for the Ottawa-Hull corpus is influenced by the inclusion of the futurate present (7%), this rate is still in line with the proportionate use of this variant found in other recent corpora. For example, Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff (2011) found that the periphrastic future made up three-quarters (74%, n=3161/4246) of all references to a future state or event in two corpora (1971 and 1984) for Montréal French. Finally, it is in the Franco-American enclaves of Southbridge, Massachusetts, and Woonsocket, Rhode Island, where the highest rate of use of the periphrastic future is found for a Laurentian variety. Stelling (2008) reports that this variant is used at a rate of 88% (n=848/969) in the data he analyzed. It must be pointed out, however, that unlike the other Laurentian communities represented in Table 5.2, those in the northwest United States are in a situation of very advanced language shift, one which may, according to Stelling (2008: 151), promote "a preference for analytic structures over synthetic forms".

[142] As a point of comparison for the mid 20th-century, according to Seutin's (1975) study of French spoken in Île-aux-Coudres, Québec, the periphrastic future is used at a rate of 64% (n=569/889) and the inflected future at a rate of 36% (n=320/889). I do not include these figures in the discussion above because it is not clear whether or not Seutin excluded non-temporal uses of the variants. Recall that the figures in Poplack and Dion's study also involve the inclusion of the futurate present.

		Periphrastic		Inflected		Present	
Region / Variety	Author(s)	N	%	N	%	N	%
France							
Lot, Minervois, Paris and Brittany	Roberts (2012)[143]	255	59	179	41	n/a	n/a
Vimeu (in Picardie)	Comeau and Villeneuve (2014)[144]	166	62	101	38	n/a	n/a
Martinique (SE Caribbean)	Roberts (2014)[145]	371	72	142	28	n/a	n/a
Laurentian							
Montréal (corpus: 1971)	Emirkanian and D. Sankoff (1985)	1093	73	291	27	n/a	n/a
Ottawa-Hull	Poplack and Turpin (1999)	2627	73	725	20	242	7
Massachusetts and Rhode Island (US)	Stelling (2008)[146]	848	88	121	12	n/a	n/a
Québec (corpus: RFQA)	Poplack and Dion (2009)	2630	56	1663	36	398	9
Montréal (corpora: 1971, 1984)	Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff (2011)	3161	74	1085	26	n/a	n/a
Acadian							
Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island	King and Nadasdi (2003)	323	47	362	53	n/a	n/a
Nova Scotia	Comeau (2015)	425	62	257	38	n/a	n/a

TABLE 5.2 Distribution of the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present in varieties of French spoken in France, Martinique, Canada and the United States

When we consider simultaneously the history of the periphrastic and inflected future constructions, the linguistic commentary concerning them, and their proportionate use in the Molière sub-corpus, the figures in Table 5.2 further support the finding that since at least the 17th century, use of the inflected future has declined to the benefit of the periphrastic form. With respect to Laurentian varieties in Canada, the periphrastic future today is the default variant in all the sociolinguistic corpora examined and makes up

[143] Roberts (2012) is based on data from the Beeching corpus, which comprises 95 interviews recorded between 1980 and 1990 (for details on the corpus, see Beeching 2002).

[144] Comeau and Villeneuve's study is based on data from Villeneuve's corpus, which comprises interviews with 42 speakers recorded between 2006 and 2007 (for details on the corpus, see Villeneuve 2011).

[145] Roberts' (2015) study of Martinique French is based on data from his corpus, which comprises interviews with 32 speakers recorded between 2010 and 2011.

[146] Stelling's study is based on data from a sample of 69 speakers from two of the eight Franco-American communities represented in the Smith-Fox corpus, which was constructed in 2002–2003 (Fox 2007).

approximately three-quarters of speakers' references to a future outcome.[147] However, keep in mind that the figures in Table 5.2 only capture the overall rates of variant selection in a given corpora – they do not take into account their behaviour across an individual speaker's lifespan. Results from panel studies of spoken French in Montréal by Blondeau (2006) and Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff (2011) suggest that the future variable is age-graded and that the variants can actually change in frequency over time as speakers age. By way of example, in their panel study of 59 speakers, Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff (2011) found that two-thirds of their consultants used the inflected future more in 1984 (overall rate: 15.5%) than they did 13 years earlier, in 1971 (overall rate: 10%).[148] Moreover, the number of categorical users of the periphrastic construction in the sample decreased from 20 to 4.

3.2 Social factors

Research on future temporal reference has tended to examine the possible effect of at least one of the four following social categories: education, age, socioeconomic class and speaker sex.[149] The first social factor, education, has not been found to have an effect on variant choice in Laurentian or Acadian varieties. However, it is significant in varieties spoken in France (Roberts 2012; Comeau and Villeneuve 2014) and in the French overseas territory of Martinique. In all three cases, speakers who have attained the

[147] This result pertains to the spoken language only. Research by Lesage and Gagnon (1993) shows a reverse tendency for the formal written language. They quantified use of the future variants in four daily Québécois newspapers and found near-categorical use of the inflected form (97%, n=5618/5817).

[148] The overall rates are for affirmative contexts only. The percent shown in Table 5.2 represents the overall combined rate (1971 and 1984) for both affirmative and negative contexts (26%).

[149] In my review of the results for social factors, I consider only the findings for the periphrastic future and the inflected future. Poplack and Turpin (1999) is the only study to examine the effect of social factors on use of the futurate present, which, they conclude, is not affected by any social parameters.

highest level of education (i.e., those who have obtained a university degree) most disfavour the periphrastic future (Lot, Minervois, Paris and Brittany: factor weight=.38 (Roberts 2012); Vimeu: factor weight=.37 (Comeau and Villeneuve 2014); Martinique: factor weight=.42 (Roberts 2014)). The findings for level of education seem to suggest that for speakers living in the French Republic, the inflected future is the prestige variant as compared to its periphrastic counterpart.

As for speaker age, this social factor is reported to have a significant effect in several apparent-time studies of Laurentian French. It has been consistently found that the oldest speakers surveyed are the greatest users of the inflected form and, conversely, the youngest speakers favour the periphrastic form. For instance, Poplack and Turpin (1999) report that in the Ottawa-Hull corpus, the inflected future is favoured most by speakers over the age of 54 (factor weight=.56) whereas the periphrastic future is favoured most by speakers 15 to 34 years of age (factor weight=.54). Similarly, the highest favouring effect for the inflected future in Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff's (2011) study of Montréal French is associated with the oldest speakers of the highest socioprofessional group (factor weight=.83). In the same study, the periphrastic future is favoured most by the youngest speakers of the lowest socioprofessional status (factor weight=.34).[150] The same general results are also reported in Stelling (2008) for Franco-American French, as well as in earlier studies for Montréal French (Emirkanian and D. Sankoff 1985; Zimmer 1994). That age is selected as significant for Laurentian varieties confirms that there is a pan-varietal change in progress: older speakers are the chief users of the outgoing variant, i.e., the inflected future. In contrast, in Acadian varieties, speaker

[150] According to Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff (2011: Table 6), the youngest cohort of speakers (15–44 years old) nearly doubled their rate of use of the inflected future between 1971 (7%) and 1984 (13%). They observed a comparatively moderate increase for the oldest cohort (45+ years), from 21% to 24%.

age does not influence variant choice. Comeau (2011) concludes in his investigation of the future variable in Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia, that non-significance for age is a sign that the future variable is neither age-graded nor undergoing a change.

Studies conducted on corpora for Montréal French also reveal an effect for social class. This was partly addressed in the findings for age in Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff (2011). In their study, they created a six-way hierarchy that combines speaker age (older and younger) with three socioprofessional levels (low, mid and high). Again, the inflected future was highly favoured by the oldest speakers associated with the uppermost socioprofessional level (factor effect=.83). The result for social class found in Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff's study mirrors that reported in Emirkanian and D. Sankoff (1985), which investigated future temporal reference in a sample of 36 speakers in the Montréal 1971 corpus. The findings for Montréal French suggest that the inflected future enjoys a certain degree of prestige in Québec French.

Finally, a small number of studies have found speaker sex to contribute to the selection of the future variants, though the effect of this social factor are not particularly strong.[151] Comeau (2011) reports that in Baie Sainte-Marie Acadian French, female speakers have a fairly neutral favouring effect for the periphrastic future (factor weight=.55) whereas male speakers disfavour it (factor weight=.42). In other words, in this community the inflected future is favoured by male speakers (effect=.58). Comeau points out that the finding for speaker sex runs counter to the expectation that a feature of formal speech should be favoured by female speakers. He argues, however, that in this

[151] I exclude from this review Zimmer's (1994) study of the future in Montréal, which found that 24 women divided into four age groups opted for the inflected future more frequently than men in the corresponding age groups. Since Zimmer does not conduct any statistical analyses on the data, it is not known if her results are significant.

variety of French, the inflected form isn't a formal feature at all. Rather, its association with male speakers is a reflection of the latter being more conservative in their use of traditional verbal morphology (Comeau 2011: 231). Lastly, Stelling (2008) observes that male speakers of Franco-American French favoured the periphrastic future (factor weight=.63) more than female speakers (factor weight=.46). Stelling notes that among the social factors analyzed, sex exerts the smallest effect on variability. It is important to call attention to the fact that Stelling's consultants are among the last to speak French in the Franco-American enclaves.

Given that the data in the Ontario French corpora are from adolescents in grades 9 and 12, they do not lend themselves to an analysis of the possible role of education and age. However, the information for these social factors taken from previous studies sheds important light on the relative prestige of the two variants and furthermore reinforces the fact that a change is still in progress in Laurentian varieties. The findings for social class and speaker sex are especially important, as they are two of the three social factors I examine below in the analyses of future temporal reference in Ontario French.

3.3 Linguistic factors

In previous studies, researchers have operationalized a broad range of linguistic factors (see Fleishman 1982) which have been said to condition variant choice. Some of these linguistic factors include:

- contingency of an event (e.g., Emirkanian and D. Sankoff 1985; Poplack and Turpin 1999; King and Nadasdi 2003; Blondeau 2006; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011; Stelling 2008; Roberts 2012, 2014);

- grammatical person and number (e.g., Poplack and Turpin 1999; King and Nadasdi 2003; Poplack and Dion 2009; Grimm 2010; Roberts 2010, 2014; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011); and
- certainty of the proposition (e.g., King and Nadasdi 2003; Comeau 2015).

The results for these linguistic factors vary by study and variety. For example, contingency is significant to the selection of the inflected future in Montréal French (Blondeau 2006; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011) in affirmative contexts only, whereas in Acadian French in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island (King and Nadasdi 2003), it is significant in the data for affirmative and negative contexts. With respect to grammatical person and number, studies of Laurentian French (Poplack and Dion 2009; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011) have found that the inflected future variant is favoured with formal pronouns like 1PL *nous* and 2PL *vous*, a finding which suggests that the inflected future is indeed a formal variant in Laurentian varieties. Grimm (2010), in an earlier analysis of the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, shows that the periphrastic future is favoured with the 1SG subject clitic *je*. It is therefore possible that the historical association between this variant and 1SG *je* is maintained in Ontario French.

Among the number of linguistic factors considered in previous research, including the present chapter, three in particular figure prominently in the analyses: sentential polarity, temporal distance and adverbial specification. Three broad conclusions emerge from these findings: 1) for certain varieties, sentential polarity (i.e., affirmative vs. negative contexts) is the most important predictor of the choice between the periphrastic future and the inflected future; 2) for other varieties, the most important predictor is

temporal reference; and 3) the absence of adverbial specification favours the periphrastic future whereas a specific adverbial highly favours the futurate present.

3.3.1 Sentential polarity

In every study of the future variable based on data from corpora for Laurentian French, sentential polarity stands out as the most influential linguistic factor when it is included in the quantitative analysis. A large body of research shows that it is extremely rare for the periphrastic future to appear in negative contexts, which is widely regarded as the privileged domain of the inflected future in these varieties. The existence of the so-called polarity constraint was first documented in Seutin's (1975) study of the grammar of spoken French in Île-aux-Coudres, Québec. According to Seutin (1975: 277–278) "le futur périphrastique n'est jamais employé dans une proposition négative. Le futur n'est cependant pas exclu des phrases affirmatives. L'opposition la plus remarquable est celle de la forme périphrastique dans la proposition affirmative et de la forme simple dans la phrase négative".[152] Since Seutin's original discovery, sentential polarity has been considered in most variationist studies for French. In fact, because of the limited variability in negative contexts, some researchers (e.g., Emirkanian and Sankoff 1985; Blondeau 2006; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011) have even elected to analyze only affirmative tokens with a view to uncover conditioning contexts (for instance, the effect of contingency in Montréal French) that otherwise were (or could be) masked by the inclusion of negative tokens.

[152] The periphrastic future is never used in a negative proposition. The [inflected] future is, however, not excluded from affirmative clauses. The most striking opposition is the one with the periphrastic form in affirmative propositions and the [inflected] form in negative clauses (my translation).

Multivariate analyses of data for Laurentian varieties confirm that the periphrastic future is strongly disfavoured in negative contexts, with a disfavouring factor weight of approximately .01. This is the case for French in Ottawa-Hull (Poplack and Turpin 1999) and in Gatineau (Poplack 2014). This is also the case for French in Québec City. Dehaies and Laforge (1981) found that a mere 3% (n=13/413) of all negative future tokens attracted the periphrastic construction.

A number of studies also attest to the persistence of the effect of the polarity constraint. For example, despite generations of isolation from Laurentian varieties in Canada, the periphrastic future is scarcely used (factor weight=.01) in negative utterances in the obsolescing varieties of Franco-American French studied in Stelling (2008). Its persistence is exemplified in real-time studies as well. Poplack and Dion (2009) examined the future variable in the *Récits du français québécois d'autrefois* and found that the periphrastic future was strongly disfavoured in negative propositions (factor weight=.01). Furthermore, in a panel study of 12 Montréal French speakers interviewed in 1971, 1984 and 1995, Blondeau (2006) reports that at all three points in time the effect of sentential polarity did not change: the periphrastic future was consistently disfavoured in negative contexts (factor weight=.02).

The only non-Laurentian variety of French in which the polarity constraint has been found to be operative is in the Beeching corpus of Hexagonal varieties examined in Roberts (2012). In his analysis, sentential polarity was the only linguistic factor to contribute to variant choice, with negative contexts disfavouring the periphrastic future (factor weight=.32). Note that the effect he reports is not nearly as strong as it is in Laurentian varieties. In the other variationist study of Hexagonal French, that of Comeau

and Villeneuve (2014) for Vimeu French, this factor group is not significant. More work is clearly needed in order to determine the exact role of sentential polarity in Hexagonal varieties of French.

While sentential polarity plays an influential role in variant choice in Laurentian varieties, it does not in Acadian varieties. In neither King and Nadasdi's (2003) analysis of French in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island nor Comeau's (2015) study of French in Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia, is sentential polarity retained as significant. The absence of an effect for this factor group throughout the Acadian diaspora, where the most conservative varieties of French in Canada are spoken, leads King (2013: 53) to suggest that the polarity constraint is an innovation in Laurentian varieties.[153]

3.3.2 Temporal reference

The second major linguistic factor that has been operationalized in prior research is the temporal distance of an outcome from speech time. Research on Acadian varieties has shown that the principal function of the periphrastic future is to signal imminent or immediate outcomes. For example, it is highly favoured by outcomes expected to take place within an hour of speech time, in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island (factor weight=.69) (King and Nadasdi 2003) as well as in Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia (factor weight=.68) (Comeau 2015). Given the conservative nature of these Acadian varieties, it stands to reason that the periphrastic future would continue to function as a marker of chronologically imminent eventualities. Recall that this relationship dates to at

[153] See Poplack and Dion (2009) for discussion of possible semantic motivation behind the development of this constraint.

least 17th-century French, as suggested in grammars for that period as well as in the analysis of the Molière sub-corpus presented above.

Likewise, temporal distance is also operative in Vimeu French (Comeau and Villeneuve 2014), with proximal outcomes most favouring the periphrastic variant (factor weight=.59). Moreover, a fine-grained view of proximal future references (within the minute, within the hour and within the day) shows that 93% (n=45) of the 'within the minute' tokens selected the periphrastic future. The finding for Vimeu French contrasts with the role of this factor group in Martinique French. After conducting several analyses on the data, Roberts (2014) concludes that the periphrastic future is the default variant for all future times, except for outcomes which are projected to occur after one year. He finds that in this context the periphrastic future is strongly disfavoured (factor weight=.27), which he interprets as evidence that the inflected future functions as a marker of distal futures.

With respect to the role of temporal reference in Laurentian varieties, the results are varied and quite difficult to interpret. For example, corpus data for these varieties do not allow for a fine breakdown of reference points following speech time and as such are usually collapsed to create a binary opposition between proximal (less than 24 hours) and distal (greater than 24 hours) outcomes. Furthermore, when temporal reference is selected as statistically significant, the effect it has on variant choice tends to be weak. For example, in the Ottawa-Hull corpus, proximal outcomes favoured the periphrastic future only slightly (factor weight=.56) and distal events had a neutral effect on choice of the inflected future (factor weight=.48) (Poplack and Turpin 1999). With respect to the futurate present, Poplack and Turpin's analysis shows that that it is disfavoured in

proximal contexts (factor weight=.44), a finding which runs counter to grammarians' assumptions. That this factor group may not be a major predictor of variant choice in Laurentian French is also exemplified in a recent study by Poplack (2015) for adolescents speakers of French in Gatineau. Poplack analyzed data for the same individuals recorded in three different social contexts (sociolinguistic interviews, informal discussions in school, participation in a school debate) and found that temporal reference is significant in the sociolinguistic interviews only. In addition, the results of this linguistic factor are contrary to expectation, as it is the inflected future that is favoured for proximal outcomes (factor weight=.83).

3.3.3 Adverbial specification

The third and final linguistic factor regularly examined in prior research is adverbial specification. As was the case for temporal reference, there is very little consistency across and within varieties. In Hexagonal varieties, this factor group does not affect selection of either the periphrastic future or the inflected future (Roberts 2012; Comeau and Villeneuve 2014), nor is it significant in a mixed-effects analysis for Martinique French (Roberts 2014). Several studies of North American varieties of French have shown that adverbial specification has some influence on variant choice in analyses based on data for the periphrastic future and the inflected future. If this factor group is selected, it is generally found that the periphrastic future is (marginally) favoured when there is no adverbial modification (Stelling 2008; Comeau 2015; Poplack 2015) and that non-specific adverbs such as *bientôt* 'soon' or *plus tard* 'later' favour the inflected future

(Poplack and Turpin 1999).[154] The most important finding for adverbial specification is its relationship with the futurate present, which is highly favoured by specific time adverbials (e.g., *cet été* 'this summer'). Poplack and Turpin (1999) report a high favouring effect of .78 in the Ottawa-Hull corpus. The co-occurrence of specific adverbials with the futurate present, which refers to outcomes that have been scheduled before speech time, is consistent with the literature on future temporal reference (e.g., Fleishman 1982 and Binnick 1991). It should be also noted that Poplack and Turpin (1999) is the only study to include the futurate present in multivariate analyses.

4.0 Delimitation of the variable context

All tokens for the periphrastic future and the inflected future were extracted from the 1978 and 2005 corpora using the concordance program MonoConc Pro. As for the futurate present, occurrences of this variant were extracted by reading the transcribed interview files, because it is virtually impossible to employ search functions in software to pinpoint instances of the present tense which have future meaning.

The data extraction process yielded a very large overall number of tokens from each corpus: 2,158 for 1978 and 6,677 for 2005. However, not all of these tokens were included in the final data sets. It is widely recognized in the literature and in previous studies that the forms of the periphrastic future and the inflected future are highly polyvalent and often serve a variety of functions beyond future temporal reference. In conformity with the methods adopted in the variationist research summarized above,

[154] Historically, in its initial stages of development, *aller* + infinitive required temporal adverbs to express future meaning. According to Fleischman (1982: 84), "Through frequent collocation, the sense of futurity was eventually transferred to the verb itself".

nontemporal uses of the variants were discarded, along with a number of other types of exclusions. Examples for each of these are provided below.[155]

4.1 Excluded data

I identified ten different types of excluded tokens, which are supported by examples from the two corpora:

Habitual actions

The greatest number of tokens that were excluded from the data sets consisted of examples in which the token was not temporal but rather aspectual, namely involving habitual action. In general, habitual actions (or 'false futures') co-occurred with aspectual adverbs or adverbial expressions such as *toujours* 'always', *des fois* or *parfois* 'sometimes', *d'habitude* or *habituellement* 'usually', *de temps en temps* 'from time to time', *souvent* 'often', *tout le temps* 'always' and *la plupart du temps* 'most of the time'. Any of the future variants under study can express habitual actions (see LeBlanc 2009 for a detailed study of habituals in Québec French); an example with the periphrastic future (60), inflected future (61) and futurate present (62) are shown below:

(60) Des fois le samedi on **va se rencontrer** au *mall* pour magasiner.
'Sometimes on Saturdays we'll meet up at the mall and go shopping.'
(P1-07: semi-restricted, working class, female)

(61) Habituellement, je visite des amis comme pour le souper, on **ira** à la plage.
'Usually, I visit friends like for dinner and we'll go down to the beach.'
(C2-34: restricted, working class, male)

[155] 1,124 tokens were excluded from the 1978 corpus and 4,047 from the 2005 corpus. These totals are for the periphrastic future and the inflected future only. A complete inventory of the examples in which the present does not express futurity is beyond the scope of the present work. A detailed list of the excluded data for the periphrastic future and inflected future and the corresponding token counts is provided in Appendix F.

(62) On **se voit** pas souvent, mais quand on **se voit** c'est le *fun*.
'We don't see each other often, but when we do, it's fun.'
(H2-40: semi-restricted, middle class, male)

Hypothetical statements

Hypothetical statements refer to situations whose realization is possible, or is assumed to be so, and which lack temporal reference. For example, in (63), the speaker supposes that some speakers probably say 'liqueur' instead of 'cola'. In (64), while speaking hypothetically, the speaker believes that that nothing will change if she chooses to walk instead of ride the bus or her bike (see Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011: 281–282).

(63) Au lieu de dire « est-ce que je peux avoir une liqueur » ils **vont** probablement **dire** « est-ce que je peux avoir un cola ».
'Instead of saying "can I have a pop" they'll probably say "can I have a cola".'
(C1-09: unrestricted, working class, female)

(64) Mettons moi je décide du jour au lendemain de, je sais pas, marcher à la place de prendre l'auto ou faire de la bicyclette ou quelque chose, ça **fera** pas vraiment du changement.
'Let's say I decide one day to, I don't know, walk instead of take the bus or ride my bike or something, that wouldn't be much of a change.'
(C2-17: unrestricted, middle class, female)

Anticipatory actions

In the data from both the 1978 and 2005 corpora, I identified several instances in which the variants were used for anticipatory actions described by the speaker. I could not find parallel examples in the literature. The occurrences in question serve to invite the interviewer to visualize something that the speaker knows due to prior experience and is in the process of recounting. In (65), the interviewer can anticipate seeing a bridge that leads up the hill, if at some point she finds herself on Cumberland Street. Similarly, in

(66), if the interviewer were to watch the film *Save the Last Dance*, she can anticipate that at the end of the movie Julia Stiles will enrol in an important dance school.

(65) En descendant la rue Cumberland, tu **vas voir** où-ce que le pont **va monter**.
'As you go down Cumberland Street, you'll see where the bridge goes up.'
(C1-08: unrestricted, working class, female)

(66) Faut qu'elle déménage. Pis là, elle a arrêté de danser mais elle recommence à la fin, elle recommence à danser. Pis elle **va s'inscrire** dans une grosse école de danse.
'She has to move. So, she quit dancing but she starts again at the end, she starts dancing again. Then she's going to enrol in a big dance school.'
(H2-23: unrestricted, lower-middle class, female)

Fixed expressions

Expressions such as *on va dire* 'let's say', in (67) and *qu'est-ce que tu voudras* 'what have you', in (68), were excluded because, while in some contexts they may refer to a future outcome, in others they are fixed and do not admit the other variants. For instance, in (67) it is not possible to replace *on va dire* with *on dira* nor is it possible in (68) to replace *qu'est-ce que tu voudras* with *qu'est-ce que tu va vouloir*.

(67) Quand qu'il vient avec nous, on **va dire** au chalet, ben nous-autres on parle français.
When he comes with us to, let's say the cabin, well we speak in French.
(N1-01: unrestricted, middle class, male)

(68) Elle fait des salades là avec des comme trempettes, qu'est-ce que tu **voudras**.
'She makes salads with like dips or whatever you want.'
(H2-30: semi-restricted, lower middle class, female)

Pseudo-imperatives

The inflected future can be used in nonfactive, volitional contexts where it lessens the force of an imperative (Fleischman 1982).[156] Along with Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff (2011), I term this particular usage a pseudo-imperative. Unlike true imperatives, pseudo-imperatives occur with a personal pronoun. Though the literature tends to recognize the inflected form in this context, as in (69), the periphrastic future, in (70), is also possible.

(69) Je sais pas si tu l'as vu. Non? Tu **viendras** voir demain.
'I don't know if you saw it. No? You'll have to come see tomorrow.'
(H2-11: unrestricted, lower-middle class, female)

(70) Vous **allez** juste **baisser** le son s'il vous plaît puis commencez à travailler.
'You're going to bring the volume down a notch please and get to work.'
(HT-18: 24 years old, Franco-Ontarian, female, teacher in Hawkesbury)

Aller as a verb of spatial motion

When it clearly functions as a verb of spatial motion, the verb *aller* with the periphrastic and inflected future forms were also excluded. It can be quite challenging to determine whether such cases express spatial motion or a future eventuality, especially for the periphrastic future, which emerged from *aller* expressing spatial advance before grammaticalizing into an exponent of futurity (Fleishman 1982). However, the surrounding discourse generally suffices to eliminate any ambiguity. For example, in (71), the interviewer attempts to pose an additional question towards the end of the interview, but the student no longer wishes to continue. She does this by stating that the class period is finished (the same time during which the interview took place) and that she is leaving to eat her lunch.

[156] Grevisse and Goosse characterize such uses of the inflected form as "logical" because the imperative is connected to the future (1980: §335b). According to Étienne (1895/1980: §342), the inflected form as a surrogate for the imperative dates back to Old French.

(71) Interviewer: Selon toi, Hawkesbury c'est plutôt canadien francophone...
Speaker: Mon cours est fini. Je **m'en vas dîner**.
(H2-30: semi-restricted, lower-middle class, female)

Interviewer: 'In your opinion, is Hawkesbury more French Canadian...'
Speaker: 'My class is finished. I'm going for lunch.'

Metalinguistic commentary

A small number of tokens of the variants were set aside because the future forms were embedded in metalinguistic commentary on the grammar of the French language. In (72), the student believes that when speakers of Québec French use the periphrastic future, they opt for *vas* [va], the unmarked variant for the 1S conjugation of the verb *aller* in the present tense, rather than formal *vais* [vɛ], which she associates with Ontario French.

(72) Leur français il est pas précis. À la place de dire « je **vais aller** à quelque part » ils vont dire « je **vas aller** à quelque part ».
'Their French isn't precise. Instead of saying "je **vais aller** à quelque part" they say "je **vas aller** à quelque part".
(N1-36: semi-restricted, working class, female)

Protasis clauses

All tokens of the future variants were omitted when they appeared in the protasis clause of a conditional sentence. In this particular context, the inflected form is not admitted and thus there is no variability. An example with the periphrastic future is provided in (73):

(73) Si tu **vas travailler** comme en Sturgeon, comme, t'as vraiment besoin d'être bilingue.
'If you're going to work in Sturgeon, like, you really have to be bilingual.'
(N2-46: restricted, lower-middle class, female)

Reported speech

Like Comeau (2015) and Roberts (2014), I also excluded examples which contained reported speech. As illustrated in (74), four tokens of the periphrastic future were

excluded as they are contained within a narrative for which it is not possible to recover any temporal information.

(74) On voulait aller à la pêche. Mon père m'amène jamais. Il dit, « Non. Les poissons **vont t'emmener** droit dans l'eau pis tu **vas te noyer**. ». Et puis il dit, « La ligne **va se casser** puis tu **vas être** fâché. »
'We wanted to go fishing. My dad never brings me. He says, "No. The fish will drag you straight into the water and then you'll drown." Then he says, "The line will break and then you'll be angry."'
(P1-15: semi-restricted, working class, male)

Interviewer priming

Following normal sociolinguistic practice, tokens of the variants that appeared due to interviewer priming were not analyzed, as in (75).

(75) Interviewer: Même si on a la technologie pour euh... on sait qu'on pollue... ça **changera** pas.
Speaker: Non, ça **changera** pas.
(N2-03: semi-restricted, middle class, male)
Interviewer: 'Even though we have the technology to um... we know that we're polluting... it won't change.'
Speaker: 'No, it won't change.'

In addition to the above exclusions, I also omitted all instances of the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present which were repeated, corrected or reformulated, or otherwise found in ambiguous and/or incomplete utterances (see also Tagliamonte 2006: 86–94).

4.2 Social factors

Once the excluded tokens were set aside, there remained a total of 1,034 unambiguous references to a future time drawn from the 1978 corpus and 2,630 from the 2005 corpus. All tokens of future variants were coded for the following social factors: sex, social class

and language restriction. Among these social factors, the role of language restriction at both points in time will receive the most attention in the discussions that follow.

4.3 Linguistic factors

Like Blondeau (2006) and Poplack (2015), I coded the data for the relative contribution of three linguistic constraints to choice of the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present: sentential polarity, temporal reference and adverbial specification. Each of these constraints are detailed below and supported by examples.

Sentential polarity

Given the important role that sentential polarity plays with respect to selection of the periphrastic future and inflected future in Laurentian varieties, I coded for whether the variant was in an affirmative (76) or negative (77) context. With respect to sentential polarity, this factor group is a simple binary. In other words, I did not note which type of pre- or post-verbal negative adverb was used (*pas* 'not', *rien* 'none, nothing', *jamais* 'never', *plus* 'anymore', *personne* 'no one', *aucun* 'none'), nor did I note the (rare) presence of the negative particle *ne* in combination with the negative adverbs (cf. Roberts 2012, 2014; Comeau and Villeneuve 2014).

(76) **Affirmative**
Je vas donner application au Collège Algonquin à Ottawa.
'I'm going to apply to Algonquin College in Ottawa.'
(H1-03: unrestricted, working class, female)

(77) **Negative**
Ça sera peut-être **pas** dans le temps que je vas être en vie.
'That probably won't happen while I'm still alive.'
(N2-29: semi-restricted, working class, female)

Temporal reference

The second linguistic factor that figured in the statistical analyses is temporal reference. Although the effect of this factor group tends to be rather weak in Laurentian varieties, even when temporal distance is collapsed into a binary opposition between proximal and distal outcomes, I coded for seven discrete reference points following speech time. For example, I identified whether the proposition expressed a state or event deemed to take place within the hour (78), within the day (79), within the week (80), within the month (81), within the year (82), in a period longer than a year (83) and over a sustained period of time (84). I also identified tokens for which I was not able to determine the time of outcome (85).

(78) **Within the hour**
Je dirai pas quoi j'ai faite, c'est pas approprié.
'I won't say what I've done, it's not appropriate.'
(N2-49: unrestricted, working class, male)

(79) **Within the day**
Ça se peut que je le manque **ce soir** à cause je vas voir les gars jouer.
'I might miss it tonight because I'm going to see the guys play.'
(N2-22: restricted, lower middle class, female)

(80) **Within the week**
Gilbert vient icitte **demain**.
'Gilbert is coming here tomorrow.'
(P1-20: restricted, working class, male)

(81) **Within the month**
On commence la **semaine prochaine**... je vais appliquer ici au collège.
'We're starting next week... I'm going to apply to the college here.'
(P2-11: restricted, working class, female)

(82) **Within the year**
Je le sais pas. M'as te le dire **à la fin de l'année**.
'I don't know. I'll let you know at the end of the year.'
(H2-06: unrestricted, lower middle class, female)

(83) **Longer than a year**
Si ça continue comme ça, **dans cent ans** ça sera pas ben ben beau. Ça va toute être pollué pis ça va tout détruire la couche d'ozone alentour.
'If it continues like that, in a hundred years it won't be very nice. It'll be all polluted and that's going to destroy the ozone layer around us.'
(H2-50: semi-restricted, working class, male)

(84) **Continuous future**
Le français va **toujours** exister... qu'on le veuille ou qu'on le veuille pas.
'French will always exist... whether we want it to or not.'
(C1-06: unrestricted, middle class, female)

(85) **Undetermined future**
J'ai peur que les *mini-skirts* reviennent... parce qu'on est venu pas mal long, là. Je pense qu'elle va remonter. Je pense pas j'aimerais porter ça!
'I'm worried that mini-skirts are coming back... because they're long now, eh. I think they're going to get shorter. I don't think I'd like to wear that!'
(C1-12: semi-restricted, lower middle class, female)

Adverbial specification

The third and last linguistic factor that entered into the statistical analyses is adverbial specification. In previous studies of French, researchers have organized this factor group in one of two ways: 1) modification by a specific adverb, by a non-specific adverb or by no adverb at all (e.g., Poplack and Turpin 1999) or 2) modification by the presence or absence of adverbial specification. I depart slightly from the methods used in prior work. Cognizant of the role of the interviewer in establishing the chronological reference point as relevant for the responses of the Franco-Ontarian adolescents, I also considered adverbial specification in the interviewer's questions. The sequential organization of talk – and in the case at hand, prior talk – can indeed influence a speaker's use of one variant or another (cf. Heritage 1984). This is clearly illustrated in (86), where the interviewer defines the time frame by way of a specific time adverbial (*l'année prochaine* 'next

year'), without which the four consecutive instances of the futurate present almost certainly would not have been possible.

(86) Interviewer: Fait que l'**année prochaine** as-tu une idée où tu veux aller ?
Speaker: Je prends une année de relâche. Puis je m'en vas (au) Colorado pis je visite des personnes ensuite je reviens.
(C2-02: restricted, lower-middle class, male)

Interviewer: 'So next year, do you have an idée of where you want to go?'
Speaker: 'I'm taking a year off. I'm going to Colorado, I'm visiting some people and then I'm coming back.'

Since the interviewer can play a role in shaping the adolescents' choice of variants during their interviews, I coded for a number of ways in which adverbial specification was realized, either by the speaker or the interviewer, or both. The examples in (87), (88) and (89) show a specific adverb produced by the speaker, the interviewer and by both the speaker and the interviewer, respectively. Similarly, examples (90), (91) and (92) show the same combination of realizations for non-specific adverbs. I also coded for the absence of adverbial specification, as in (93).

(87) **Specific – speaker only**
Je vas faire *track* **cette année** parce que ça fait comme ben des mois que je cours pas.
'I'm going to do track this year because I haven't run in quite a few months.'
(N2-18: restricted, middle class, female)

(88) **Specific – interviewer only**
Interviewer: C'est l'université ou le collège l'**année prochaine**?
Speaker: Je vas au collège, oui.
(P2-01: restricted, lower middle class, female)
Interviewer: 'It's university or college next year?'
Speaker: 'I'm going to college, yes.'

(89) **Specific – speaker and interviewer**
Interviewer: As-tu appliqué pour collège, université, l'**année prochaine**?
Speaker: Je vas pas l'**année prochaine**. Oui, je vas prendre un *break*.
(C2-09: restricted, working class, female)

Interviewer: Have you applied for college or university for next year?
Speaker: I'm not going next year. Yes, I'm going to take a break.

(90) **Non-specific – speaker only**
Personne va parler français **plus tard** si ça continue de même.
'Nobody is going to speak French later on if things continue as they are.'
(H2-05: unrestricted, working class, female)

(91) **Non-specific – interviewer only**
Interviewer: **Dans une centaine d'années**, penses-tu que la Terre va être plus polluée ou est-ce qu'on va avoir la technologie pour euh réparer les...
Speaker: Si c'est plus pollué, t'sais, c'est sûr y aura pas grand vie. Mais une Terre propre, c'est dur à imaginer avec tout ce qu'on vit en ce moment.
(C2-15: unrestricted, middle class, female)

Interviewer: 'In a hundred years or so, do you think Earth is going to be more polluted or will we have the technology to, um, repair the...'
Speaker: 'If it's more polluted, you know, there certainly won't be much life left. But a clean Earth is hard to imagine considering what we're living right now.'

(92) **Non-specific – speaker and interviewer**
Interviewer: Selon toi, dans **une centaine d'années** est-ce que ça va être plus pollué?
Speaker: ... **centaine d'années** je penserais qu'il va plus d'avoir de Terre.
(C2-23: restricted, lower middle class, male)

Interviewer: 'In your opinion, in a hundred years or so is it going to be more polluted?'
Speaker: '... hundred years I'd think there isn't going to be an Earth anymore.'

(93) **No specification**
Je pense qu'ils vont finir. Ils vont être obligés... de la *canceller*.
'I think they're going to finish. They're going to have to cancel it.'
(N1-01: unrestricted, middle class, male)

5.0 Results

This presentation of the results is divided into two main sections. The first provides the results of the analyses of future temporal reference in the 1978 corpus of Ontario French.

This includes the proportionate distributions of the future variants, as well as the main findings for the social and linguistic factors that contribute to variant choice. This initial section ends with a summary of the results for the polarity constraint, which is the most important conditioning context for the periphrastic and inflected future forms in Ontario French. The second major section contains the results of the analyses of the data from the 2005 corpus. It unfolds in much the same way as the first, but it also addresses a number of important observations with respect to variant usage in real time. After presenting the main findings for the social and linguistic factors that contribute to variant choice, I conclude this section with a discussion on the role of sentential polarity. I show that this linguistic factor plays a crucial role in the maintenance of the inflected future in the Ontario French communities under study.

5.1 Mougeon & Beniak 1978 corpus of Ontario French

In this section, I present an analysis of the future variable using data from the Mougeon & Beniak 1978 corpus.[157] I begin with the proportionate distribution for the tokens of the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present, then move on to a discussion of the results for the social factors and the linguistic factors. The overall results pertaining to the data from the 1978 corpus will serve as the first point in time in the diachronic analysis.

[157] The version of the Mougeon & Beniak 1978 corpus used in the present study differs in certain respects (e.g., number of speakers, overall number of tokens) from that reported on in Grimm and Nadasdi (2011). In addition, the present study does not adhere to the same methods as the earlier work. For example, it includes the futurate present as a third variant, considers fewer overall factor groups and, whenever possible, analyzes the data for each level of language restriction separately.

5.1.1 Proportionate distributions

The proportionate distributions of the future variants extracted from the Mougeon & Beniak 1978 corpus are displayed in Table 5.3. Figures are provided for the entire 1978 corpus (i.e., an aggregate of all speakers), as well as for each language restriction category.

	Periphrastic future		Inflected future		Futurate present		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
Entire corpus	844	81.5	112	11	78	8.5	1034
Language Restriction							
Unrestricted	241	80	31	10	31	10	303
Semi-restricted	384	81	46	10	42	9	472
Restricted	219	84.5	35	13.5	5	2	259

TABLE 5.3 Proportionate distribution of the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present in the 1978 corpus

According to the distributions for the entire 1978 corpus, the periphrastic future is the dominant form, at 81.5% (n=844/1034), while the inflected future and the futurate present are minor variants used 11% (n=112/1034) and 8.5% (n=78/1034) of the time, respectively. These percentages differ somewhat from those reported for a sub-sample of 60 speakers in the Ottawa-Hull corpus. Poplack and Turpin (1999) found a lower rate of use of the periphrastic future, 73% (n=2627/3594), nearly double the proportion of the inflected future, 20% (n=725/3594), and almost the same frequency of use of the present, 7% (n=242/3594).

When the relevant distributions for each category of language restriction are taken into account, there are few differences with respect to the proportionate use of each variant. The rates obtained for the unrestricted and semi-restricted speakers are virtually identical: 80-81% for the periphrastic future, 10% for the inflected future and 9-10% for the futurate present. However, restricted speakers produced slightly higher rates of the

periphrastic future, 84.5% (n=219/259), and of the inflected future, 13.5% (n=35/259), seemingly at the expense of the futurate present, which accounts for merely 2% (n=5/259) of the data. Previous work on Ontario French, including the preceding chapter, has found that restricted speakers tend to use morphologically more complex structures (e.g., third person plural verbal morphology, the subjunctive mood) less often than speakers associated with the other language restriction categories. The future variable appears to stand as a bit of an exception. Since the periphrastic future (which requires an auxiliary verb) and the inflected future (which comprises bound morphemes on the verbal stem) involve more morphology as compared to the futurate present, one might have predicted that restricted speakers would opt for the last variant at least as often as unrestricted and semi-restricted speakers. However, the relative complexity of the morphology of the variants doesn't play a role here. Rather, the cohort of restricted speakers in the 1978 corpus produced a comparatively smaller number of contexts which promote the use of the futurate present. My explanation for the low rate of occurrence of the future present in the restricted speakers' interviews is provided in Section 5.2.1.1.

5.1.2 Social factors

The aggregate data for all three groups of language restriction were submitted to a statistical analysis to determine whether any of the social factors (e.g., social class, speaker sex and degree of language restriction) are statistically meaningful with respect to choice of the periphrastic future. Note that tokens of the futurate present do not figure in this analysis. In Section 5.2.1.1 below, which explores the use of the futurate present, I

show that in Ontario French, as in other Laurentian varieties (e.g., Poplack and Turpin 1999), this variant is not socially conditioned.

5.1.2.1 Aggregate analysis for the 1978 corpus

The results of the statistical analysis of the social factors are provided in Table 5.4. Out of the three social categories considered, only social class was retained as statistically significant in the entire 1978 corpus.[158] The factor weights indicate that there exists an inverse correlation between use of the periphrastic future and social class. The periphrastic form is marginally favoured by working class speakers (factor weight=.56) and is fairly neutral for lower-middle class speakers (factor weight=.52), but disfavoured by middle class speakers (factor weight=.31). This last result suggests that the inflected future is most likely to occur in the speech of the middle class and, consequently, is perceived in the Franco-Ontarian communities as somewhat more prestigious than the periphrastic future. Previous research on the expression of future temporal reference also reports a similar result for class in the Montréal 1971 and 1984 corpora. Emirkanian and D. Sankoff (1985) found that use of the inflected future is consistently highest for speakers of the uppermost socioeconomic class, a finding which is echoed in Evans Wanger and G. Sankoff (2011) but for older, not younger, speakers. In contrast, Popack and Turpin (1999) did not find an effect for this social factor in the Ottawa-Hull corpus.

[158] The individual results for each level of language restriction are provided in Appendix G.

	FW	N	%
Social class			
Middle	.31	115/148	78
Lower-middle	.52	409/456	90
Working	.56	320/352	91
range	*25*		
Sex			
Female	[.52]	420/470	89
Male	[.49]	424/486	87
Language restr.			
Unrestricted	[.52]	241/272	89
Semi-restricted	[.52]	384/430	89
Restricted	[.45]	219/254	86
Total N: 844/956			
Input: .89			
Significance: .000 Log likelihood: -337.06			

TABLE 5.4 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the probability that the periphrastic future will be selected in Ontario French (1978)

Neither speaker sex nor language restriction were selected as significant in the analysis of the 1978 data. That the former doesn't influence variant choice is not entirely unanticipated. No other in-depth examination of this variable in a Laurentian variety in Canada has found an effect for speaker sex.

Finally, in the 1978 corpus, the distribution of the periphrastic and inflected future forms across the three degrees of language restriction (85%-89%) varies too little to reach statistical significance. Thus, in the late 1970s, relatively greater to lesser degrees of language restriction did not impact on the proportionate use of the variants. This is not to say, however, that restriction in the use of French doesn't impinge on the behaviour of the principal variants in other ways. This is indeed the case, as described in the discussion of the linguistic factors below.

5.1.3 Linguistic factors

The data from the three groups of language restriction were submitted to separate statistical analyses in order to determine the contribution of three linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected. As mentioned previously, I limit my analysis of the linguistic factors to three constraints, which are sentential polarity, temporal reference and adverbial specification. Although I initially coded for a number of different contexts with adverbial specification and temporal distance, it was not necessary to scrutinize the data to this level of detail. The former linguistic factor was reduced to a three-way distinction (specific adverbs, non-specific adverbs, no adverbial specification) and the latter, to a two-way distinction (proximal outcomes [i.e., within the hour and within the day] and distal outcomes [i.e., all other future time references]).

Three independent variable rule analyses were conducted on the data from the speakers belonging to the unrestricted and semi-restricted categories (Tables 5.5 and 5.6). For each run, one variant is chosen as the application value and pitted against the two remaining variants. For example, the statistical results for the periphrastic future are taken from an analysis of the linguistic factors that govern the selection of the periphrastic form as opposed to both the inflected future and the futurate present. With respect to the data for restricted speakers, the existence of only five tokens of the futurate present precluded the possibility of running more than one analysis. Thus, I conducted a single binary analysis with the periphrastic future set as the application value (Table 5.7). In light of there being a large number of runs, in the discussion that follows I focus on the statistical

results for the linguistic factors which are most favourable to the use of one variant or another.

5.1.3.1 Unrestricted speakers

Beginning with the periphrastic future, two of the three factor groups considered were selected as statistically significant: sentential polarity and adverbial specification. The results displayed in Table 5.5 reveal that the periphrastic future is favoured in affirmative contexts (factor weight=.60) and also when there is no adverbial specification (factor weight=.61). Selection of either the inflected future or the futurate present is governed by a sole factor group. The former is strongly favoured in negative contexts (factor weight=.99) and the latter is preferred when a specific temporal adverb or adverbial is used (factor weight=.73).

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Futurate present		
	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Polarity									
Affirmative	**.60**	238/275	87	.39	8/275	3	[.50]	29/275	11
Negative	.02	3/28	11	**.99**	23/28	82	[.47]	2/28	7
range	*58*			*60*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.30	70/96	73	[.61]	7/96	7	**.73**	19/96	20
Non-Specific	.53	11/15	73	[.23]	2/15	13	.62	2/15	13
Absent	**.61**	160/192	83	[.47]	22/192	12	.37	10/192	5
range	*31*						*36*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	[.30]	6/9	67	[.86]	2/9	22	[.52]	1/9	11
Distal	[.51]	206/256	81	[.48]	21/256	8	[.50]	29/256	11
range									
	Total N: 241/303			Total N: 31/303			Total N: 31/303		
	Input: .83			Input: .05			Input: .09		
	Significance: .003			Significance: .000			Significance: .001		
	Log likelihood: -111.63			Log likelihood: -49.319			Log likelihood: -92.934		

TABLE 5.5 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected in the speech of unrestricted speakers (1978)

The results for the unrestricted speakers are entirely in line with those reported for other speakers of Laurentian varieties. In Poplack and Turpin's (1999) study of the future variable in Ottawa-Hull, the periphrastic future was favoured in affirmative contexts (factor weight=.65) without adverbial specification (factor weight=.56); the inflected future was strongly associated with negative contexts (factor weight=.99) and the most favourable environment of the futurate present is one that is modified by a specific temporal adverb (factor weight=.78).

At no point in the analysis of the data for unrestricted speakers did temporal distance condition the use the future variants. Studies of French in Ottawa-Hull (Poplack and Turpin 1999; Poplack and Dion 2009) and in Gatineau (Poplack 2015: Table 5) have found that this factor group can be statistically significant in Laurentian varieties; however, even when it is selected as significant, its effect tends to be weak.

5.1.3.2 Semi-restricted speakers

The results shown in Table 5.6 demonstrate that in the speech of the semi-restricted speakers, use of the future variable is only marginally different from what was observed for the unrestricted speakers. Once again, the periphrastic future is favoured in affirmative utterances (factor weight=.56) that have no adverbial specification (factor weight=.58); the inflected future is strongly preferred in negative utterances (factor weight=.99); and the futurate present is favoured when a specific adverb is used (factor weight=.69). In fact, the factor weights obtained for the most favourable environments are almost the same for unrestricted and semi-restricted speakers.

Unlike for the unrestricted speakers, temporal distance is shown to influence variability for the semi-restricted speakers, namely in regard to selection of the periphrastic future. Events that are projected to occur within a 24-hour period following speech time (i.e., proximal outcomes) strongly favour the periphrastic form (factor weight=.86). A large body of research on Canadian French has demonstrated that the link between temporal proximity and use of the periphrastic future is a hallmark of conservative Acadian varieties (King and Nadasdi 2003; Comeau 2015; Comeau et al. 2015), but not Laurentian varieties. Such a finding for the semi-restricted speakers was therefore not anticipated. It must be kept in mind, however, that proximal contexts are very infrequent in the 1978 corpus (3%, n=21/697; refer to Chapter 3 for discussion). More data for outcomes situated within 24 hours of speech time are clearly needed before strong conclusions may be drawn on the role of temporal distance.

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Futurate present		
	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Polarity									
Affirmative	**.56**	366/427	86	.42	20/427	5	[.53]	41/427	10
Negative	.09	18/45	40	**.96**	26/45	58	[.22]	1/45	2
range	*47*			*54*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.40	152/199	76	[.48]	17/199	9	**.69**	30/199	15
Non-Specific	.50	21/25	84	[.54]	2/25	8	.52	2/25	8
Absent	**.58**	211/248	85	[.51]	27/248	11	.34	10/248	4
range	*18*						*35*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	**.86**	11/12	92	.14	1/12	8	K.O.[159]	0/12	0
Distal	.49	339/420	81	.51	40/420	10	n/a	41/420	10
range	*37*			*37*					
	Total N: 384/472			Total N: 46/472			Total N: 42/472		
	Input: .84			Input: .06			Input: .07		
	Significance: .048			Significance: .042			Significance: .000		
	Log likelihood: -198.74			Log likelihood: -109.25			Log likelihood: -133.25		

TABLE 5.6 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected in the speech of semi-restricted speakers (1978)

[159] Indicates a categorical result (or knockout); such results are excluded from the statistical analysis.

5.1.3.3 Restricted speakers

Due to the paucity of tokens of the futurate present (n=5) in the restricted speakers' interviews, I report the results from a statistical analysis with the periphrastic future set as the application value.

As shown in Table 5.7, sentential polarity alone conditions the use of the variants. The periphrastic future is favoured, albeit slightly, in affirmative contexts (factor weight=.52). If we reverse the factor weights to consider the conditioning of the inflected future, this is the preferred variant in negative contexts (factor weight=.76).

	FW	N	%
Polarity			
Affirmative	**.52**	207/236	88
Negative	.24	12/18	67
range	*28*		
Adv. spec.			
Specific	[.39]	64/79	81
Non-Specific	[.50]	15/17	88
Absent	[.55]	140/158	89
range			
Temp. distance			
Proximal	n/a	0	0
Distal	n/a	197/230	86
Total N: 219/254			
Input: .87			
Significance: .030 Log likelihood: -99.40			

TABLE 5.7 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future will be selected in the speech of restricted speakers (1978)

Given the fact that polarity is the conditioning factor group *par excellence* in the data for the unrestricted and semi-restricted speakers and, indeed, in Laurentian varieties more generally, it stands to reason that the restricted speakers would be sensitive to its effect. Consider, as well, that with sufficient exposure to vernacular French, non-

Francophones can also acquire the polarity constraint. In their study of the spoken French of Anglo-Montrealers, Blondeau et al. (2013: Table 3) found that polarity is operative: the periphrastic future is somewhat preferred in affirmative clauses (factor weight=.56) and the inflected future is favoured in negative clauses (factor weight=.98). With respect to degree of exposure to vernacular patterns, restricted speakers in the 1978 corpus must have at least surpassed the threshold necessary to acquire the polarity constraint, but not that needed for adverbial specification to become a conditioning environment. In contrast, Anglo-Montrealers, like the unrestricted and semi-restricted speakers, have acquired this constraint: the periphrastic future is favoured when a future event is not modified by a time adverbial (factor weight=.60). Finally, since there were no tokens for proximal actions in the data for the restricted speakers, it was not possible to determine whether temporal distance contributes to variant choice.

5.1.3.4 Summary of results for the polarity constraint

The overall findings presented above suggest that the future temporal reference systems for both unrestricted speakers and semi-restricted speakers converge to a large extent. According to the results of the multiple regression analyses, the same linguistic factors condition the use of all of the future variants and their corresponding statistical effects are very similar. The exception to this observation is that temporal distance may have some effect on the selection of the periphrastic and inflected future forms in the data for semi-restricted speakers. For their part, restricted speakers are sensitive to the polarity constraint, but to no other linguistic factor group examined.

A review of the above results brings to light one important tendency: sentential polarity is the strongest predictor of the choice of the periphrastic and inflected future forms – irrespective of level of restriction in the use of French. Even so, the relative strength of this linguistic factor is not constant across the speaker categories. Further inspection into the behaviour of the periphrastic and inflected future variants reveals that the consequences of language restriction are greater than can be inferred by looking at the statistical effects on their own. Figures 5.2 and 5.3 below show that as language restriction becomes more pronounced, the overall effect that polarity exerts on the selection of the periphrastic future and inflected future diminishes. The weakening of this constraint manifests itself in two ways: 1) in the ranges obtained for both variants, i.e., the difference between the factor weights for affirmative and for negative contexts; and 2) in the distribution of the variants according to polarity.

Figure 5.2 shows a steady decline in the ranges along the continuum of language restriction: they are at their highest point in the data for unrestricted speakers (PF: 58, IF: 60) and at their lowest point – at half the strength – for restricted speakers (PF: range=28; IF: range=28). As indicated by the ranges for the semi-restricted group (PF: range=47; IF: range=54), these speakers follow much closer to unrestricted speakers than to restricted speakers. In brief, sentential polarity is the most important factor group for all speakers, but the magnitude of its effect varies from one category of language restriction to the next.

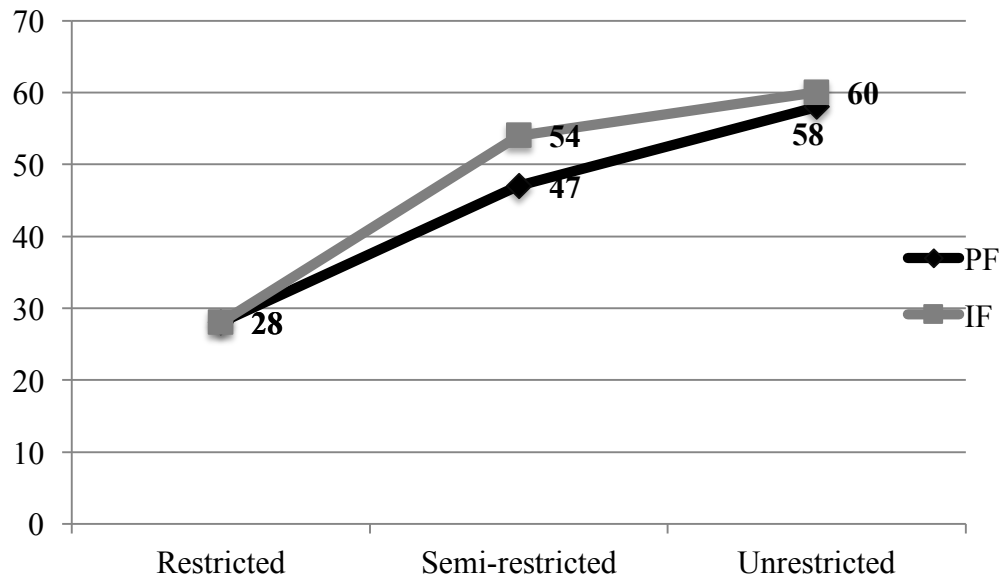


FIGURE 5.2 Range obtained for the periphrastic future and inflected future according to degree of language restriction (1978)

To help clarify the monotonic pattern shown in Figure 5.2 above, I turn to Figure 5.3, which provides the distribution of the periphrastic and inflected future forms according to polarity and each group of language restriction.[160] Recall that in previous studies of the future variable in Laurentian varieties (Deshaies and Laforge 1981; Emirkanian and D. Sankoff 1985; Zimmer 1994; Poplack and Turpin 1999; Blondeau 2006; Stelling 2008; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011, *inter alia*) the periphrastic future rarely, if ever, occurs in negative clauses. In fact, in some studies based on data from corpora for Montréal French (e.g., Emirkanian and D. Sankoff 1985; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011), the absence of negated periphrastic futures led to the removal of negative contexts entirely from the final analysis. The same body of work has also shown

[160] As Figure 5.2 does not include the futurate present, the percentages have been readjusted to reflect the distributions for the periphrastic future and the inflected future.

that use of the inflected future is highly favoured in, but not restricted to, negative contexts.

Independent of degree of language restriction, in the 1978 corpus there is a high rate of occurrence of the periphrastic future in affirmative contexts: 97% for unrestricted speakers, 95% for semi-restricted speakers and 88% for restricted speakers. According to these figures, then, it is not impossible to use the inflected variant in affirmative utterances in Ontario French, though it is rare (3% to 12%).[161] The most telling evidence in support of the breakdown of the polarity constraint is visible in the distribution of the variants in negative contexts, which is viewed as one of the last productive environments for the inflected future in Laurentian varieties. Unrestricted speakers continue to adhere to the general Laurentian pattern whereby use of the inflected future dominates in negative contexts (88%). This association diminishes rather abruptly for the semi-restricted speakers (59%) and, lastly, for the restricted speakers (33%). Such a decline leads to a concomitant rise in the use of the periphrastic form in negative contexts: 12% for unrestricted speakers, 41% for semi-restricted speakers and 67% for restricted speakers.

[161] Speakers in the Hawkesbury 1978 sub-corpus never used the periphrastic form (n=94) in negative environments; rather, in these contexts they selected only the inflected future (n=11) (cf. Grimm and Nadasdi 2011).

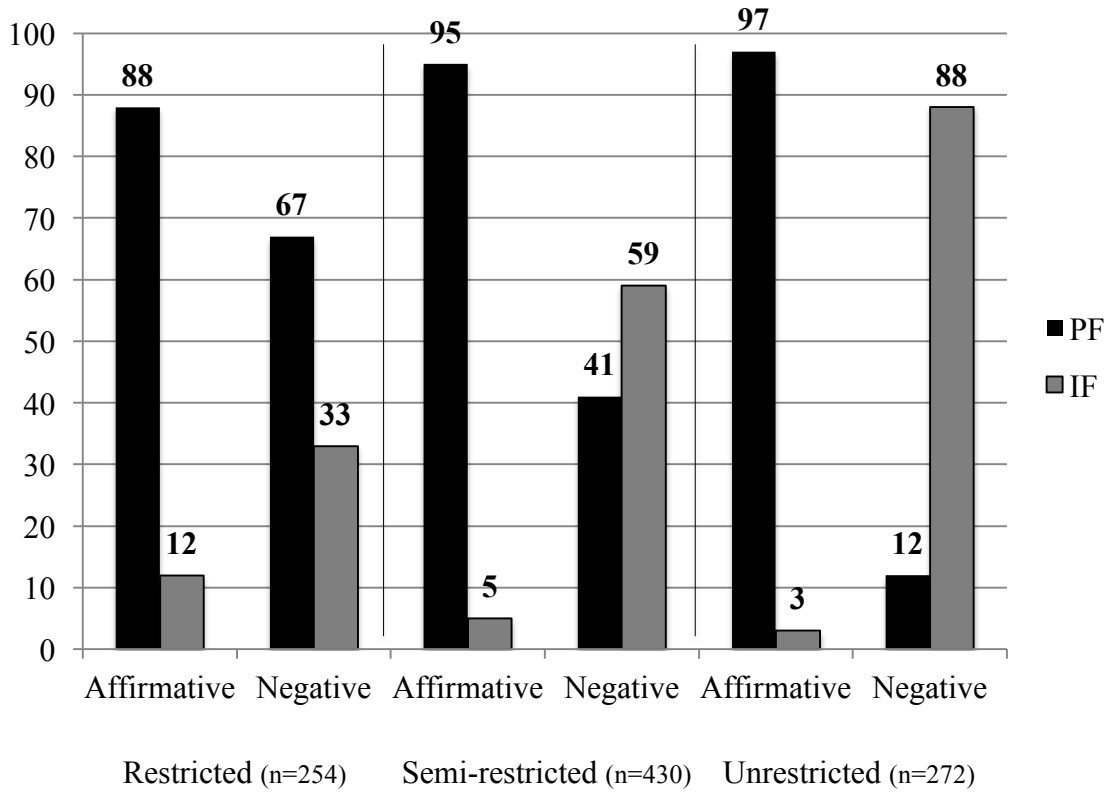


FIGURE 5.3 Distribution of the periphrastic future and inflected future according to polarity and degree of language restriction (1978)

To better emphasize the extent of the periphrastic future's encroachment into the 'domain' of the inflected future, I have reconfigured the results from Figure 5.3 in Figure 5.4, which contains the distributions for negative contexts only. The pattern found for the unrestricted speakers is similar to that observed in other Laurentian varieties: negative contexts are overwhelmingly represented by the inflected future. If the results for the cohort of unrestricted speakers are taken as a baseline, we see that in negative environments use of the inflected future declines by 29% (from 88% to 59%) for semi-restricted speakers and by 55% (from 88% to 33%) for restricted speakers. This last finding is unprecedented: in no other variety of Laurentian French does the use of the periphrastic future surpass that of the inflected future in negative propositions. The

distributions shown in Figure 5.4 suggest that when the polarity constraint destabilizes, this breakdown will be observable in the marked environment of negative utterances (cf. Zimmer 1994).

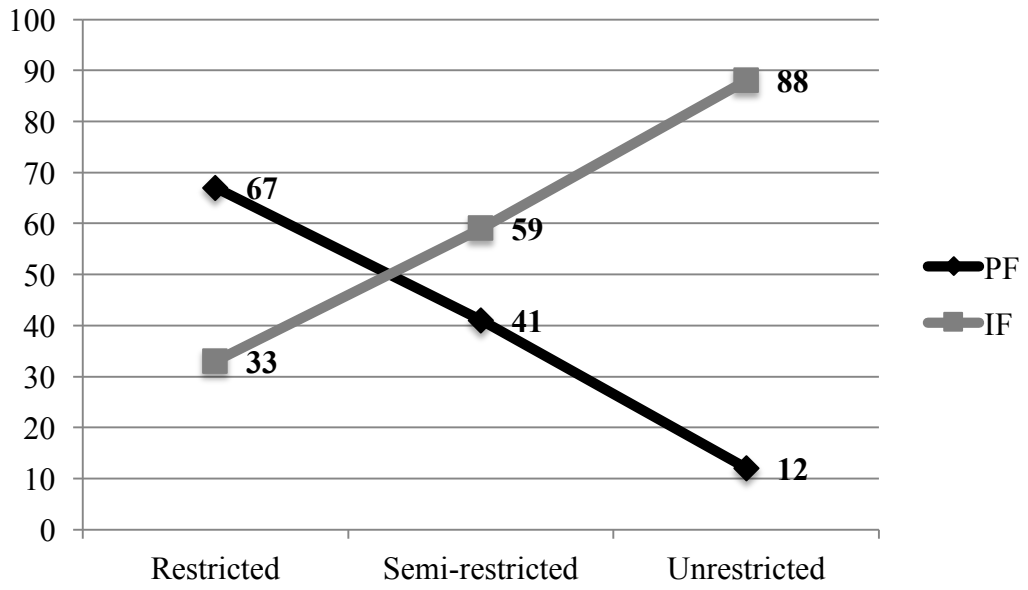


FIGURE 5.4 Distribution of the periphrastic future and inflected future in negative contexts according to degree of language restriction (1978)

5.2 Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2005 corpus of Ontario French

I now present the results of the analyses of the data taken from the Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2005 corpus. I first provide the proportionate distributions of the variants before moving on to the results of the analyses of the social and linguistic factors.

In the sections that follow, it is important to note that I do not analyze the future variable according to the tripartite division of language restriction, as was the case for the analyses based on the 1978 corpus. Instead, due to the availability of substantially more data in the 2005 corpus, I examine language restriction on the same five-point scale introduced in my analysis of the expressions of necessity in the previous chapter. The five-way distinction is as follows: 1) speakers in Hawkesbury; 2) unrestricted speakers in

North Bay and Cornwall; 3) semi-restricted speakers in North Bay and Cornwall; 4) restricted speakers in North Bay and Cornwall; and 5) speakers in Pembroke.[162] The revised scale can be viewed as an expanded version of the three-point one utilized in the analyses of the 1978 data.

5.2.1 Proportionate distributions

The proportionate distribution of the future variants extracted from the Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2005 corpus are displayed in Table 5.8. Figures are provided for the entire 2005 corpus (i.e., an aggregate of all speakers), as well as for each language-restriction group on the expanded five-point scale.

	Periphrastic future		Inflected future		Futurate present		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Total N
Entire corpus	1993	76	196	8	441	17	2630
Community and Language restriction							
Hawkesbury	775	76	116	11	134	13	1025
CW-NB: unrestricted	96	76	10	8	20	16	126
CW-NB: semi-restricted	282	76	19	5	71	19	372
CW-NB: restricted	514	75	25	4	148	22	687
Pembroke	326	78	26	6	68	16	420

TABLE 5.8 Proportionate distribution of the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present in the 2005 corpus

The percentages for the entire 2005 corpus show that, like in the 1978 corpus, the periphrastic future is the most common variant, accounting for 76% (n=1993/2630) of all

[162] There are both unrestricted (n=37) and semi-restricted (n=13) speakers in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, but I do not examine the possible role of language restriction in the majority community. The findings provided in the previous chapter on mood choice show that in Hawkesbury, semi-restricted speakers do not distinguish themselves from their unrestricted counterparts. This was determined on the basis of the results for the social and the linguistic conditioning factors. Other studies on data from the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus have arrived at similar conclusions. For example, in a discussion of the findings pertaining to the realizations of the 1SG conjugation of the verb *aller* (*je vais, je vas*, etc.), Mougeon et al. (2008: 365) note that "... les locuteurs semi-restreints des communautés francophones fortement majoritaires font un usage du français qui est généralement au-dessus du seuil où se manifesterait « à coup sûr » une fragilisation des contraintes linguistiques et extra-linguistiques de la variation." '... in the strong majority francophone communities, the semi-restricted speakers' use of French generally surpasses the threshold at which a breakdown in the linguistic and social constraints is assured' (my translation).

tokens of the variable; the inflected future and the futurate present occur far less frequently in the data, 8% (n=196/2630) and 17% (n=441/2630) of the time, respectively. While the majority or minority status of the three variants remains unchanged, their quantitative distributions fluctuated over the 28-year period. The relevant distributions for the 1978 corpus and the 2005 corpus are provided in Figure 5.5.

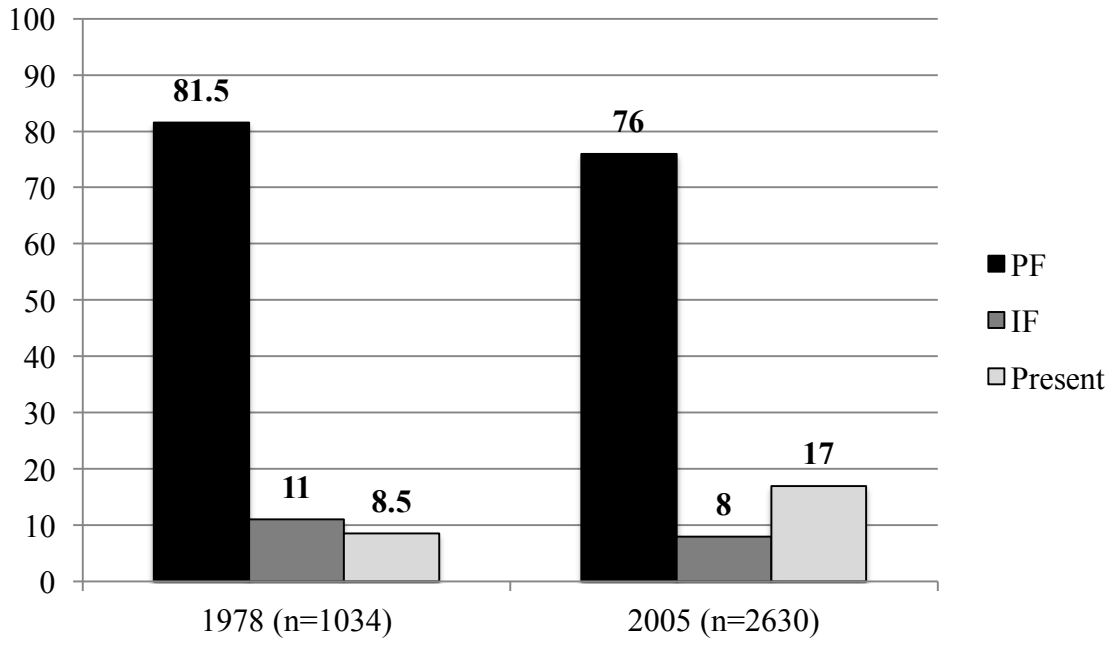


FIGURE 5.5 Proportionate distribution of the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present in Ontario French (1978 and 2005)

Between 1978 and 2005, the periphrastic future decreased slightly, from 81.5% to 76%, in the corpora. The inflected future also registered a minor drop, from 11% to 8%. In regard to the futurate present, it is the only variant to have increased over time, from 8.5% to 17%. It would appear, at least tentatively, that the combined decrease of 8.5% for the periphrastic future and inflected future has benefited the futurate present, which is twice as frequent in 2005 as it was in 1978. An increase of this size suggests a change has taken place in the Franco-Ontarian communities and perhaps even in Laurentian French.

In a real-time study of the future in mid 20th-century Québec French and late 20th-century Ottawa-Hull French, Poplack and Dion (2006: Table 7) report that the rate of use of the futurate present remained low and stable, at 9% (n=398/4691) and 7% (n=242/3559), respectively.

Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that the comparison of the distributions for the 1978 and 2005 corpora is based on aggregate data for each time period. To gain meaningful insight into these fluctuations in real time, it is necessary to first examine more closely the distributions for the 2005 corpus according to community and language restriction.

From the distributions in Table 5.8 three patterns emerge with respect to the proportionate use of the future variants. First, use of the periphrastic future is remarkably stable throughout all communities and language restriction categories, representing 75% to 78% of all future tokens. I take this as evidence that use of the periphrastic future is unaffected by language restriction. Second, there is a steady decrease in the use of the inflected future, ranging from 11% in Hawkesbury to 4% for restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay. Third, and finally, the rate of frequency of the futurate present jumps from 13% in Hawkesbury to 22% for restricted speakers in North Bay and Cornwall. The results for the latter two variants do suggest that language restriction plays a part: as restriction in the use of French increases, so, too, does use of the futurate present, and this at the expense of the inflected form. However, this interpretation of the facts is challenged by the findings for speakers in Pembroke. Their use of the inflected future (6%) is midway between the rate for unrestricted speakers (8%) and semi-restricted speakers (5%) in Cornwall and North Bay whereas their use of the futurate

present (16%) is situated in the same range as that for the unrestricted speakers. Thus, variable levels of language restriction do not influence in a consistent way the frequency of use of neither the inflected future nor of the futurate present. The Pembroke results may signal one of two things: they are an anomaly and language restriction actually does come into play, or they point to the possibility that the descending or ascending rates for the inflected future and futurate present merely create the illusion of a pattern. In the sections that follow, I examine the variants in question in greater detail and show that language restriction offers a partial explanation only.

5.2.1.1 Futurate present

To contextualize the results for the futurate present shown in Table 5.8, I turn to previous research on the future variable in Canada. The futurate present has been included in a number of studies based on data from recent corpora for Québec English (Torres Cacoullos and Walker 2009), French immersion students in Toronto (Nadasdi et al. 2003), L2 French Anglo-Montrealers (Blondeau et al. 2014) and French in Ottawa-Hull (Poplack and Turpin 1999). Figure 5.6 contains the distributions of the futurate present reported in these studies, which are arranged left to right on a continuum from English dominant to French dominant.

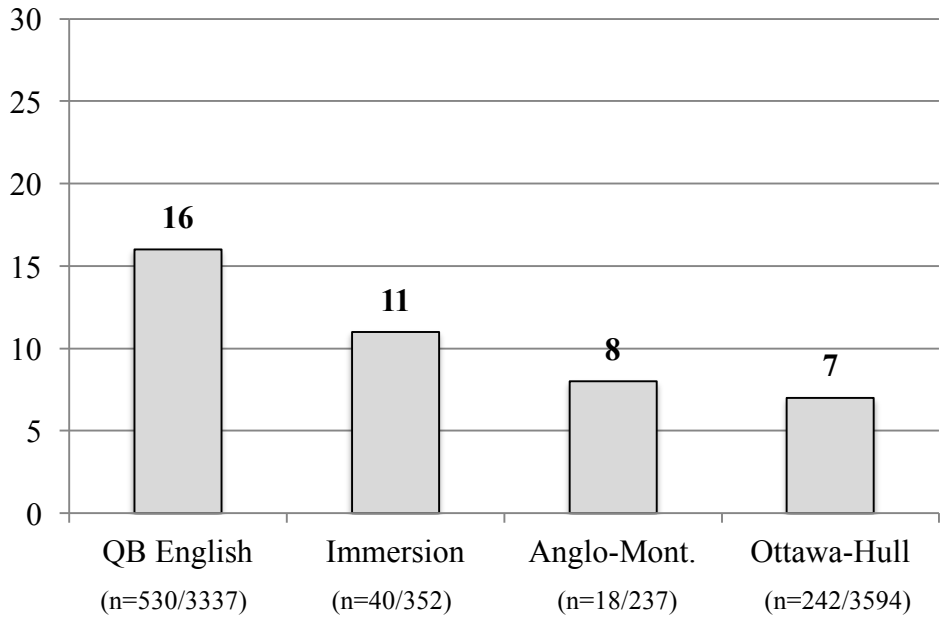


FIGURE 5.6 Proportionate distribution of the futurate present in previous research on future temporal reference

The rates presented in Figure 5.6 show that the proportionate use of the futurate present decreases rather steadily from studies based on English-dominant speakers to those based on French-dominant ones. Speakers of Québec English use the futurate present (16%) most among the other groups examined in previous studies – more than twice as often as speakers of Ottawa-Hull French (7%). The distributions reproduced above seem to suggest that the futurate present is more characteristic of the future temporal reference system for English more so than for French. If this were true, then the figures in Figure 5.6 would help elucidate the increased frequency in use of the futurate present along the continuum of language restriction in the 2005 corpus (Pembroke aside). In other words, the progressively elevated rates for the futurate present might be an example of contact-induced transfer from English. However, if this were indeed the case, then how do we explain the puzzling results for the 1978 corpus? Recall that in the 1978 corpus restricted speakers produced virtually no tokens of the futurate present (2%,

n=5/259) as compared to unrestricted speakers (10%, n=31/303) and semi-restricted speakers (9%, n=42/472).

The futurate present is (in many languages) subject to lexico-semantic limitations that normally do not constrain the other future variants. In general, it is admissible when reference is made to events that are "planned" or "programmable" (Le Goffic and Lab 2001: 78), "pre-arranged according to some schedule" (Jones 1996: 159), on a "fixed program" (Binnick 1991: 289) or "scheduled or inevitable" (Hilpert 2008; see also Comrie 1985: 118). The limitation imposed on the futurate present (94), but not on the periphrastic future (95) or on the inflected future (96), is illustrated below:

(94) On voit le film demain. Je sais que je **vais** l'**aimer**.
'We are seeing the movie tomorrow. I know that I am going to like it.'

(95) On voit le film demain. Je sais que je l'**aimerai**.
'We are seeing the movie tomorrow. I know that I will like it.'

(96) On voit le film demain. ?? Je sais que je l'**aime**.
'We are seeing the movie tomorrow. I know I like it.'

In the examples above, the verb *voir* in the sentence *on voit le film demain* meets the criteria for use with the futurate present. With adverbial specification, it refers unambiguously to an event that has been scheduled in advance and that the speaker is committed to seeing the following day. In addition, the arrangement to see the movie "already belongs to the past" (Vet 1994: 63), that is, the preparatory stages precede the time of speech. In the above examples, it is not problematic for *aimer* 'to like' to appear in the periphrastic future (*vais aimer*, in 94) or in the inflected future (*aimerai*, in 95); however, it is problematic when *aimer* is in the present (*aime*, in 96). In example (96), the semantic properties of *aimer* prevent its use with the futurate present due to a violation of

the condition that the verb be somehow linked to the past. It is not possible to pre-determine one's reaction to a movie that is yet to be viewed. As Fleischman (1982: 93) would have it, the periphrastic future and inflected future are suitable because both variants express a prediction (e.g., *je vais l'aimer* and *je l'aimerai*), whereas the futurate present is not because it must introduce a statement based on fact.

In the 2005 corpus, the bulk of the tokens of the futurate present were found in discussions surrounding the topics of university or college plans, pre-arranged travel (e.g., during March break or the summer months), team sports events (e.g., upcoming tournaments and games), school-related obligations and activities (e.g., deadlines, graduation) and work schedules. All of these topics regularly licensed the futurate present as the details of these events and activities can be – and in fact were – worked out in advance. Examples are shown in (97) to (99):

(97) Je **m'en vais** à l'Université Carlton, ou à l'Université d'Ottawa, en criminologie.
'I'm going to Carleton University, or the University of Ottawa, for criminology.'
(C2-07: restricted, lower middle class, female)

(98) L'été prochain on **va** à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard.
'Next summer we're going to Prince Edward Island.'
(N2-50: semi-restricted, working class, female)

(99) Cette année, comme... on commence à s'entraîner dans le gymnase et on **va** à deux tournois qui sont aux États-Unis.
'This year, like... we're starting to practise in the gym and we're going to two tournaments that are in the United States.'
(P2-13: restricted, lower-middle class, male)

In addition, many of these situations, such as attending university (in 97), travelling to various destinations (in 98) and participating in sports events (in 99), involve some kind of movement, which is a favourable environment for this variant (Binnick

1991: 55). This would explain why in Torres Cacoullos and Walker's (2009) study of Québec English, the futurate present is favoured with verbs of motion (factor weight=.83), a large portion of which is made up of 'to go' (41%, n=217/530).

In view of the cross-linguistic tendency for the futurate present to occur with verbs of motion – the verb 'to go' especially – I organized the occurrences of this variant by lexical verb to determine if such a tendency exists in Ontario French.[163] A list of the top 15 verbs that occurred with this variant in the 2005 corpus is provided in Table 5.9:

		N	%
1	*(s'en) aller* 'to go'[164]	156	35.5
2	*être* 'to be'	50	11
3	*avoir* 'to have'	41	9
4	*faire* 'to do'	21	5
5	*(s'en) venir* 'to come'	20	5
6	*partir* 'to leave'	19	4
7	*revenir* 'to come back'	16	4
8	*prendre* 'to take'	15	3
9	*commencer* 'to begin'	11	2
10	*rester* 'to stay'	8	2
11	*déménager* 'to move'	8	2
12	*travailler* 'to work'	7	1.5
13	*retourner* 'to return'	6	1.5
14	*finir* 'to finish'	6	1.5
15	*sortir* 'to leave, go out'	5	1
	All other verbs	52	12
	Total	441	100

TABLE 5.9 Top 15 verbs that occurred with the futurate present (2005)

Similar to the case in Québec English, in Ontario French *aller* is the most frequent verb in the futurate present (note, too, that seven out of the top 15 verbs are verbs of movement). *Aller* alone accounts for the lion's share of all tokens of this variant, at

[163] Hilpert (2008) examines the use of the futurate present (n=1822) in German using data from four corpora which comprise some 20 million words. The verb *gehen* 'to go' is the fourth most frequent verb to occur with the futurate present.

[164] *S'en aller* is the reflexive (nonstandard) equivalent to *aller*, both meaning 'to go'. From here on, reference to *aller* assumes both variants.

35.5% (n=156/441). I further organized the tokens of the futurate present by type of lexical verb – *aller*, other verbs of movement and all other verbs – for each point on the continuum of language restriction.

	aller		Other movement		Other verb		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
Entire corpus	156	35.5	94	21	191	43.5	441
Community/ Language restriction							
Hawkesbury	36	27	25	18.5	73	54.5	134
CW-NB: unrestricted	9	45	2	10	9	45	20
CW-NB: semi-restricted	27	38	19	27	25	35	71
CW-NB: restricted	60	41	37	25	51	34	148
Pembroke	24	35	11	16	33	49	68

TABLE 5.10 Distribution of the futurate present according to lexical type (2005)

As shown in Table 5.10, there is a great deal of fluctuation in the percentages for each lexical type to be able to confirm whether use of the futurate present behaves differently across each of the speaker groups distinguished. It seems likely that these random distributions can be attributed to coincidence. To my knowledge neither the literature on future temporal reference nor prior studies of language-contact phenomena, in Ontario French or in other language varieties, allude to the possibility that language contact could lead to use of the futurate present more with one type of lexical verb than with another.

There is, however, one important observation that can be made on the basis of the results in Table 5.10: the rates of occurrence of *aller* in the data follow precisely the same curvilinear pattern that arose with respect to the proportionate use of the futurate present (Table 5.8). A comparison of the percentages in question is shown in Figure 5.7 below (I have excluded the 20 tokens produced by the unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay to avoid a potential confounding effect due to paucity of data).

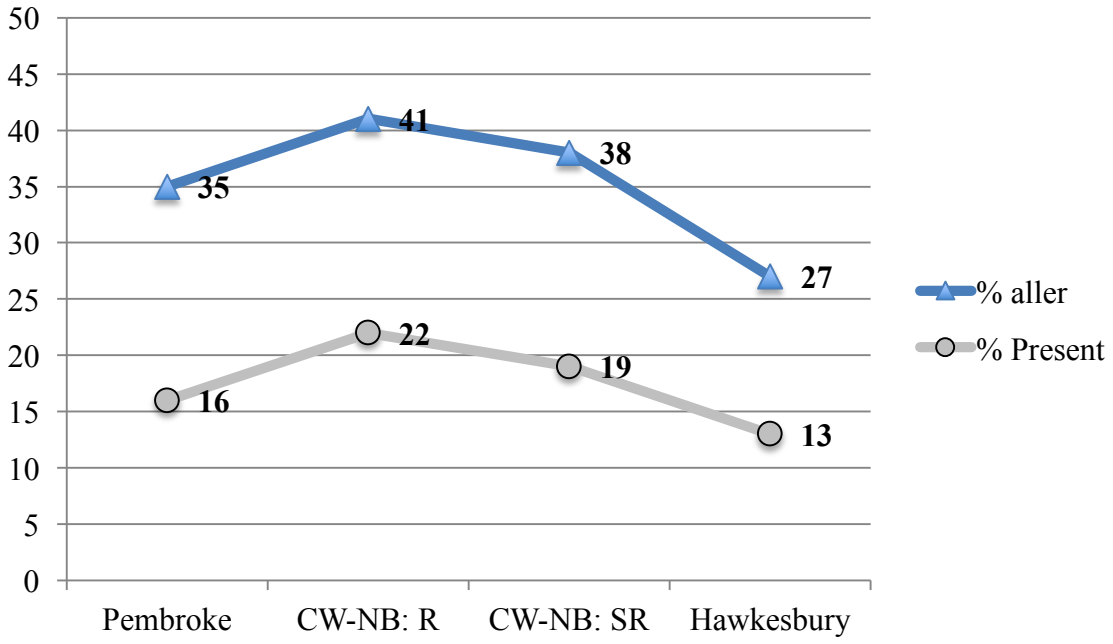


FIGURE 5.7 Proportionate use of the futurate present (vs. the periphrastic future and inflected future) relative to the distribution of *aller* in the futurate present

As can be seen in Figure 5.7, the proportionate use of the futurate present versus the other future variants is approximately half the rate of use of the lexical verb *aller* in the futurate present. This rank ordering holds for all levels of language restriction. Thus, it would appear that the relative proportion of the futurate present in the data for future temporal reference can be estimated rather accurately on the basis of the rate for *aller* – the most frequently used verb in the futurate present.[165] This observation is bolstered by the unanticipated results for the restricted speakers, those who used the futurate present (2%, n=5/259) far less frequently than unrestricted speakers (10%, n=31/303) and semi-

[165] It is probable that the preference for the futurate present with the verb *aller* 'to go' has a historical basis. Use of the lexical verb *aller* with the periphrastic future, which would result in two adjacent forms of the same verb, was seen as undesirable. Grammarians such as Féraud admonished such usage: "Quelques uns vont jusqu'à dire, je *vais aller*, nous *alons aler*; mais c'est pousser trop loin l'usage de cette expression" (1787: 85, 12˚, italics original). 'Some will even say, I *am going to go*, we *are going to go*, but this is pushing the expression too far' (my translation). The futurate present may therefore have been a strategy to avoid duplication. A similar case would appear to have been part of the history of Brazilian Portuguese as well (Poplack and Malvar 2006).

restricted speakers (9%, n=42/472). The speakers exhibiting the highest level of restriction in the use of French produced few tokens of *aller* in the future: six in the periphrastic future, two in the inflected future, and none in the futurate present.[166]

Earlier, in the initial discussion of the proportionate use of the future variants in the 2005 corpus (Table 5.8), I suggested that language restriction may be responsible for the (mostly) ascending rates of frequency of the futurate present. I also noted that the rates of the futurate present obtained for speakers in Pembroke may be interpreted either as an anomaly within a wider pattern spurred by differential levels of language restriction or, alternatively, as an indication that the pattern in question is an illusion. The evidence presented above supports my claim that the latter interpretation is the more plausible. It is the proportionate use of the verb *aller* in the futurate present – a highly frequent verb for all speakers in the corpora – that guides the proportionate use of the futurate present.

The real-time increase in use of the futurate present, from 8.5% in 1978 to 17% in 2005, is not a result of a change in the language. Similarly, the 8.5% gain that the futurate present seemed to make at the expense of the other variants (especially the inflected future) in the 2005 corpus is due to chance. As was demonstrated in examples (94) to (96), the variants are not mutually substitutable in all future contexts. For the futurate present to extend its use from statements of fact into the realm of prediction (occupied by the French periphrastic and inflected futures) would require a loosening of the lexico-semantic constraints that bind it to "a deontic-practical modality" (de Saussure 2013:

[166] Unrestricted speakers – periphrastic future: n=17/27, inflected future: n=1/27, futurate present: n=9/27; semi-restricted speakers – periphrastic future: n=20/28, inflected future: n=2/28, futurate present: n=6/28.

57).[167] I conclude, then, that the rate of use of the futurate present in the Ontario French corpora is regulated by properties internal to the discourse that was captured during the sociolinguistic interviews, not by variable levels of French language restriction.

5.2.1.2 Inflected future in real time

The other variant that appears to be affected by language contact in the 2005 corpus is the inflected future. As was shown in Table 5.8, there is an inverse relationship between the rate of frequency of the inflected future and degree of language restriction on the five-point scale. Speakers in Hawkesbury use the inflected future the most (11%) and restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay use it the least (4%). Once again, the rate of use of the inflected future in the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus runs counter to expectation (6%).

In the preceding chapter, I showed that the restricted speakers in the weak minority community of Pembroke are infrequent users of subjunctive morphology (see Table 4.27 in Chapter 4). More than any other group of speakers in the 2005 corpus, they opt for formal *devoir* instead of vernacular *falloir* and, consequently, rarely use the subjunctive mood. I also showed that the few tokens of the subjunctive that were found with matrix *falloir* were highly skewed towards certain speakers. That is, most – but not all – speakers in this community have a tendency to prefer morphologically simple variants. A similar scenario obtains with respect to the use of the inflected future.

Most all of the Pembroke speakers (n=27/31) made reference to a future time in their interviews; of those who provided tokens of the variable, slightly more than half

[167] The futurate present functions as the principal means of expressing the future in most Southern Italian varieties (Fleishman 1982: 77) and is the only option in Sicilian (Privitera 1998). I assume that in these Romance varieties, the same limitations do not apply or are relaxed.

(n=15) used the inflected future. I include the token count for each of these speakers in Table 5.11 (speakers are ordered from highest to lowest language restriction index score).

Speaker	N	Index
P2-03	1/9	.30
P2-02	1/8	.25
P2-01	1/26	.21
P2-28	3/7	.20
P2-10	1/6	.19
P2-19	2/8	.18
P2-11	1/25	.16
P2-09	3/32	.13
P2-24	1/5	.13
P2-25	1/11	.13
P2-30	7/25	.13
P2-29	1/8	.11
P2-27	1/9	.06
P2-17	1/6	.04
P2-31	1/10	.04
Total	**26**	

TABLE 5.11 Tokens of the inflected future produced by speakers in Pembroke (2005)

The information in Table 5.11 shows that the vast majority of speakers who used the inflected form did so no more than three times. Among the informants in Pembroke there is one obvious outlier: speaker P2-30, who produced seven tokens of the inflected future, which constitutes more than one-quarter of all the tokens for this community. This is an exceptionally high number of tokens for a speaker with a language restriction index of only .13. As a point of comparison, 18 restricted speakers in the Cornwall and North Bay 2005 sub-corpora produced tokens of the inflected future and the maximum number of occurrences produced by any speaker is four (speaker N2-42, language restriction index: .07). The comparatively elevated use of this variant by speaker P2-30 helps explain the deviant rate of use of the inflected future in the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus. In consideration of this piece of evidence, I argue that the result for Pembroke is an anomaly

caused by one speaker's 'overuse' of the inflected future and that in the 2005 corpus the proportionate use of this variant is influenced by the contact situation in a consistent way. As I will demonstrate in Section 5.2.2.2, this is a statistically meaningful correlation.

5.2.1.3 Real-time change in the use of the periphrastic future and inflected future

In Section 5.2.1.1, I showed that the futurate present is a part of the variable context in Ontario French. I also showed that its use in the 1978 and 2005 corpora is a reflection of natural tendencies in the data and not of the contact situation. Its rate of use of 17% in the 2005 corpus and of 8.5% in the 1978 corpus cannot be ascribed to change and this apparent increase is not at the expense of the frequency of the other future variants.

To confirm whether or not change has taken place in Ontario French, the locus of inquiry must be the alternation between the periphrastic future and the inflected future. In fact, in the wider discussion of change in the area of future temporal reference, it is the variation between these two variants that has been the main focal point (e.g., Bauche 1928; Posner 1997; Poplack and Turpin 1999; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011).

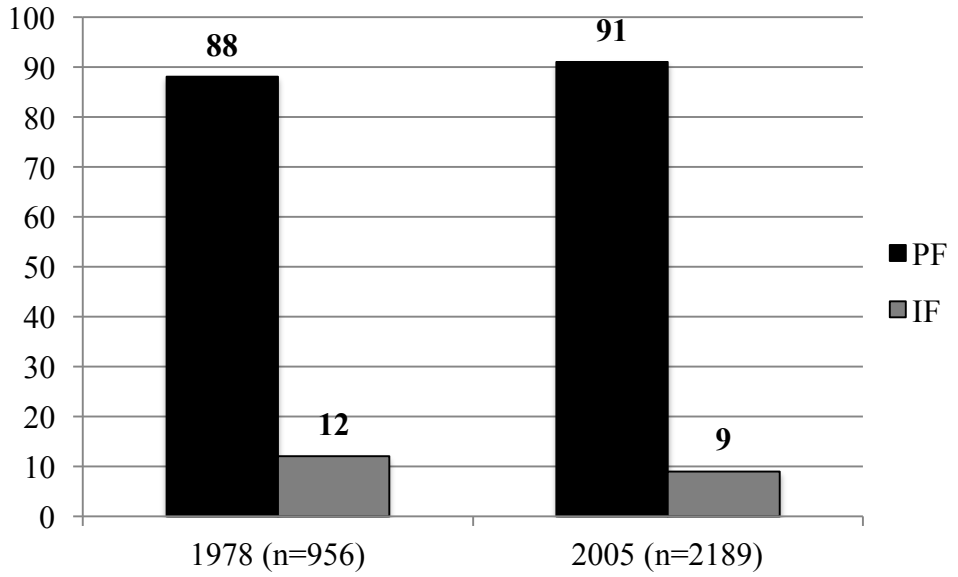


FIGURE 5.8 Proportionate distribution of the periphrastic future and the inflected future in Ontario French (1978 and 2005)

According to a re-distribution of the proportionate use of the variants (excluding the futurate present) in both corpora, displayed in Figure 5.8, the rate of frequency of the inflected future has decreased from 12% in 1978 to 9% in 2005; the 3% difference has been allocated to the periphrastic future, which increased from 88% to 91%. A statistical analysis of the complete 1978 and 2005 data sets confirms that the relative loss of the inflected future over the 28-year time span is statistically significant.[168]

This is not to say that all Franco-Ontarians are participating in the loss of the inflected form. Three additional independent multiple regression analyses were conducted on the future tokens from 1978 and 2005, one for speakers categorized into

[168] Variable rule analysis of the contribution of corpus year to the choice of the inflected future: 1978 – .55; 2005 – .48 (p= .019).

each of the three broad groups of language restriction. The results of these analyses are provided in Table 5.12.[169]

	Restricted speakers			Semi-restricted speakers			Unrestricted speakers		
	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Year									
1978	.68	35/254	13.8	.56	46/430	10.7	[.50]	31/272	11.4
2005	.45	51/891	5.7	.42	19/301	6.3	[.50]	91/787	11.6
range	*23*			*14*					
	Total N: 86/1145			Total N: 65/731			Total N: 122/1059		
	Input: .07			Input: .07			Input: .12		
	Significance: .000			Significance: .040			Significance: n/a		
	Log likelihood: -297.24			Log likelihood: -217.14			Log likelihood: -378.34		

TABLE 5.12 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of corpus year to the probability that the inflected future will be selected in Ontario French (1978 and 2005)

The results show that it is only speakers in the unrestricted category who do not modify their use of the inflected variant over time (1978: 11.4%, n=31/272; 2005: 11.6%, n=91/787). For these speakers, the inflected future remains firmly entrenched in the future temporal reference system. Those who are implicated in the change in question are the semi-restricted speakers and restricted speakers; i.e., speakers who reside in the minority communities of Cornwall and North Bay and the weak minority community of Pembroke. Based on the results reported in Table 5.12, semi-restricted speakers somewhat favoured the inflected form in 1978 (factor weight=.56) and disfavoured it in 2005 (factor weight=.42). Similarly, restricted speakers in the original corpus favoured the use of this variant (factor weight=.68) and disfavoured it in 2005 (factor weight=.45).

[169] For the purposes of making real-time comparisons, I apportioned the 2005 data into the same tripartite division adopted for the 1978 data. Note that the data set for the entire cohort of semi-restricted speakers in the 2005 corpus excludes the tokens (n=246) for the semi-restricted speakers in Hawkesbury. To merge the data for semi-restricted speakers in the French majority community with those for semi-restricted speakers in the minority communities distorts the output of the statistical analysis.

5.2.1.4 Summary

The expression of future temporal reference in Ontario French has undergone a change in real-time – but only for certain speakers. As established above, the proportionate use of the futurate present in 2005 versus 1978 initially gave the impression that this variant is involved in the change; however, it was determined that it is not. Any changes in the rates reported for the other variants occurred independent of those for the futurate present, the use of which is influenced by causes internal to the French language. Once the variation that obtains between the periphrastic future and the inflected future becomes the focal point, the possibility that change has taken place finds validation. The overall decline in use of the inflected future – from 12% in 1978 to 9% in 2005 – is confirmed to be statistically significant, but the available evidence indicates that not all speakers are part of this change. The francophone adolescents in the unrestricted category have not modified their use of the inflected future over time. In contrast, semi-restricted speakers and restricted speakers in the (weak) minority communities do use this variant less frequently than they did in 1978. In Section 5.2.3.4, I will return to this result and demonstrate that the inflected future's decline is intimately tied to the weakening of its most important conditioning context.

5.2.2 Social factors

In the analyses of social factors, I focus on variation between the periphrastic future and inflected future. As was the case for the analysis of the social factors in the 1978 corpus, I do not include the futurate present because the available evidence suggests that it is not governed by extralinguistic factors.

In the initial stages of the analyses of the social factors, I predicted that a comparatively larger data set for the 2005 corpus would allow for fine-grained analyses of the contribution of social factors. That is, I had hoped to abstain from analyzing the data in the aggregate – which assumes a certain amount of homogeneity with respect to linguistic variation within and across the minority and majority communities – and instead examine separately the data sets established for each of the five points on the continuum of language restriction. Though this method proved useful in the analyses of the contribution of linguistic factors in the 2005 corpus (see below), it did not prove to be the case for the social factors. Apart from the data for speakers in Hawkesbury, the data sets for the other groups are either too small (e.g., unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay, n=106) or use of the inflected future is too infrequent (< 9%) to detect statistically meaningful results. One additional problem concerns the number of speakers distributed among the three levels of social class. As a case in point, in an exploratory analysis of the future data from the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus (n=352), social class had a statistically significant effect on variant choice: working class speakers favoured the periphrastic future more than middle class and lower-middle class speakers. This would seem to suggest that the restricted speakers in the weak minority community of Pembroke perceive the inflected form as the prestige variant, just as the entire cohort of speakers in the 1978 corpus did. However, it is difficult to argue that such a result does indeed reflect the social evaluation of the future variants. Recall that in the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus, the inflected future makes up a very small portion of the data, with a total of 26 tokens (7%) distributed across three levels of social class. In addition, of those 26 tokens only one is produced by a single working class speaker (speaker P2-11).

In light of these challenges, I discuss the findings for two discrete analyses. The first relies on data from the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, the results of which provide insight into the role of social factors in the majority community. The second is an aggregate analysis of the data for all speakers and language restriction groups. Since the 1978 data were also submitted to an aggregate analysis, the results for the 2005 corpus make it possible to examine the evolution of the effect of social factors over time in the Franco-Ontarian communities.[170]

5.2.2.1 Hawkesbury

I considered two social factors – speaker sex and social class – in the statistical analysis of the data for the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus. According to the results shown in Table 5.13, only social class contributes to the selection of the periphrastic future, which is now favoured by middle class speakers (factor weight=.60) and slightly disfavoured by both lower-middle class and working class speakers (factor weight=.45). This result runs in a direction opposite to the one uncovered for the 1978 corpus whereby, one generation earlier, it was the middle class who most favoured the inflected variant (factor weight=.69).[171] I interpret this as evidence of a re-evaluation of the relative social prestige attached to the two variants. The periphrastic future appears to have undergone valorization between 1978 and 2005, thus changing the status of the inflected future. One possible explanation for this is that the middle class in this predominantly working class town may feel more pressure to use less prestigious features. Note, too, that this is not an

[170] The results for each community and level of language restriction are provided in Appendix G.

[171] It is not possible to make a direct comparison with the results for the Hawkesbury 1978 sub-corpus. On the one hand, this data set is quite small (n=127) and on the other, nearly 50% of the tokens are from the lower middle class (n=51 vs. working class n=43 and middle class: n=11).

isolated case for the majority community. Indeed, other real-time research based on data for Hawkesbury has observed the valorization of certain features, such as the use of the 1SG conjugation *je vas* 'I go' versus standard *je vais* and nonstandard *m'as* (Mougeon et al. 2008).

	FW	N	%
Social class			
Middle	**.60**	270/296	91
Lower-middle	.45	290/341	85
Working	.45	215/254	85
range	*15*		
Sex			
Female	[.47]	361/424	85
Male	[.53]	414/467	89
Total N: 775/891			
Input: .87			
Significance: .030 Log likelihood: -340.86			

TABLE 5.13 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the probability that the periphrastic future will be selected in Hawkesbury (2005)

With respect to the last social factor, speaker sex, it does not affect variant choice in the Hawkesbury data. In the discussion of the results for the entire 1978 corpus, I indicated that this factor group was not retained as significant, nor has it been found to influence selection of the future variants in other studies on Laurentian French (Zimmer 1994 is the exception). This absence of an effect for speaker sex in the 2005 sub-corpus is consistent with research on Laurentian French over the course of the last 30 years.

5.2.2.2 Aggregate analysis for the 2005 corpus

Three social factors were considered in the aggregate analysis of the data from the entire 2005 corpus: social class, speaker sex and degree of language restriction. According to the multiple regression analysis, the results of which are presented in Table 5.14,

language restriction constitutes the only social factor to exert a statistical effect on variant choice. Use of the periphrastic future progresses in an incremental and linear fashion with each level of language restriction (with the exception of Pembroke).[172] The probability that the periphrastic future will be used is lowest in the strong majority community of Hawkesbury (factor weight=.38) and highest for the restricted speakers in the minority communities of Cornwall and North Bay (factor weight=.65).[173] Put differently, the more the use of French as a daily language of communication is restricted along the five-point continuum, the lower the probability that the inflected future will occur in speech.

In the aggregate analysis of the social factors for the 1978 corpus (Table 5.4), no correlation was found with respect to the use of the variants and degree of language restriction. The rate of the inflected future remained stable (11%–14%) for all speakers irrespective of their category of language restriction. The 2005 results reveal that, in contrast to the situation in 1978, the inflected future is not stable but rather is used less and less across the continuum of language restriction. The synchronic findings for the 2005 corpus shed light on the results of the analysis which confirmed that the inflected future has undergone loss in real time. On the one hand, they help establish that the gradual disappearance of the inflected future is indeed a consequence of language restriction. On the other hand, they reinforce the observation that among all speakers represented in the 2005 corpus, only those exhibiting the lowest levels of language restriction are not implicated in this change. Below I show that the relative frequency of

[172] If the tokens (n=25) for the outlier (i.e., speaker P2-30; see Table 5.11 above) were removed from the analysis, the factor weights would be as follows: Hawkesbury – .37, CW-NB unrestricted – .45, CW-NB semi-restricted – .56, CW-NB restricted – .64, Pembroke – .59 (p= .000). The difference between the restricted speakers in the minority communities and the restricted speakers in Pembroke is then minimized.
[173] In a variable rule analysis which includes a tripartite division for language restriction, the factor weights are as follows: unrestricted – .42, semi-restricted – .44, restricted – .61 (p= .000).

the inflected future is intimately connected to the extent to which speakers have acquired the most important linguistic conditioning context.

	FW	N	%
Community/ Language restriction			
Hawkesbury	.38	775/891	87
CW-NB: unrestricted	.46	96/106	90.6
CW-NB: semi-restricted	.57	282/301	93.7
CW-NB: restricted	.65	514/539	95.4
Pembroke	.53	326/352	92.6
range	*27*		
Social class			
Middle	[.51]	663/725	91
Low-mid	[.49]	873/958	91
Working	[.50]	457/506	90
Sex			
Female	[.48]	978/1082	90
Male	[.52]	1015/1107	92
Total N: 1993/2189			
Input: .92			
Significance: .000 Log likelihood: -642.53			

TABLE 5.14 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the probability that the periphrastic future will be selected in Ontario French (2005)

In the aggregate analysis of the 2005 data, neither speaker sex nor social class contributed to the selection of the periphrastic future. In regard to the former, given that this factor group doesn't generally influence variant choice in Laurentian varieties, the absence of an effect is not unexpected. As for social class, one may infer from its non-significance that the social value the variants once held in the Franco-Ontarian communities, as determined by the aggregate analysis of the 1978 data (Table 5.4), is now gone. It is important to consider that this interpretation reflects the speakers viewed as a whole, not as they are categorized by community and/or language restriction. Again, the results of the analysis for the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus show that the future variants do correlate with social class and that the periphrastic form has likely acquired

new social meaning. Outside of the French majority community, however, it is probable that the absence of a social class effect is above all else a symptom of the waning use of the inflected future (cf. Poplack and Turpin 1999).

5.2.3 Linguistic factors

In this section, I present the results of the statistical analyses for each of the five points identified on the continuum of language restriction for the 2005 corpus. As I did in the discussion of the 1978 data, I focus on the statistical results for the linguistic factors which are most favourable to the use of the variants.

5.2.3.1 Hawkesbury

The results of the analysis of the data from the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, given in Table 5.15, are strikingly similar to those reported for the unrestricted speakers in 1978 (Table 5.5). In 2005, the periphrastic future continues to dominate in affirmative contexts (factor weight=.63) and is also favoured when adverbial specification is not present (factor weight=.61). The inflected future also maintains its position as the primary variant in negative clauses (factor weight=.99) and the futurate present is strongly favoured with a specific temporal adverb (factor weight=.81).

The only finding that differs from the analysis of the 1978 data is the statistical significance of temporal distance. In the present analysis, this factor group is statistically significant in the selection of both the periphrastic future and the futurate present. As I mentioned earlier, temporal reference has been selected as significant in previous studies of Laurentian varieties, but either its overall effect is weak or the results are difficult to

interpret. Recall that it was also significant in the analysis of the data for the semi-restricted speakers in 1978 (for the periphrastic future only) but that there were few proximal contexts to support any generalizations. Both considerations apply to the results for the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus. On one hand, there are a very small number of tokens for proximal outcomes (n=23) as opposed to distal ones (n=529); on the other, proximal or distal outcomes have a neutral effect on the selection of both variants, as determined by the range (periphrastic future: range=3; futurate present: range=4).

Aside from the very minor contribution of temporal reference, the situation in the strong majority community of Hawkesbury in 2005 can be characterized as one that is stable. Some 28 years later, the future variants are favoured in the same environments; where the relevant factor weights fluctuate, they do so only slightly (refer to Table 5.5). Note that sentential polarity remains the most important predictor of the use of the periphrastic future and inflected future. In fact, the unchanged favouring effect of affirmative utterances on the periphrastic future (1978: factor weight=.60; 2005: factor weight=.63) and of negative utterances on the inflected future (1978: factor weight=.99; 2005: factor weight=.99) attests to the persistence of the polarity constraint.

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Futurate present		
Polarity	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Affirmative	**.63**	747/893	84	.33	12/893	1	n/a	134/893	15
Negative	.03	28/132	21	**.99**	104/132	79	K.O.	0/132	0
range	*60*			*66*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.21	137/249	55	[.57]	14/249	6	**.81**	98/249	40
Non-Specific	.54	61/78	78	[.56]	10/78	13	.48	7/78	9
Absent	**.61**	577/698	83	[.47]	92/698	13	.38	29/698	4
range	*40*						*43*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	.47	16/23	70	[.50]	1/23	4	**.54**	6/23	26
Distal	**.50**	367/529	70	[.50]	34/529	6	.50	128/529	24
range	*3*						*4*		
	Total N: 775/1025			Total N: 116/1025			Total N: 134/1025		
	Input: .75			Input: .03			Input: .13		
	Significance: .000			Significance: .000			Significance: .000		
	Log likelihood: -382.48			Log likelihood: -131.85			Log likelihood: -287.72		

TABLE 5.15 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected in Hawkesbury (2005)[174]

5.2.3.2 Cornwall and North Bay

An independent analysis for the three future variants was run on the data for each group of language restriction in the Cornwall and North Bay 2005 sub-corpora. The data were not analyzed in the aggregate so as to avoid the risk of overlooking inter-group fluctuations in the factor weights; variations of this kind are evidence of a potential breakdown in the linguistic conditioning environments.

The results of the analysis of the data for unrestricted speakers (Table 5.16) shows that these speakers, despite experiencing community-level language restriction, are sufficiently exposed to spoken French to observe the same linguistic constraints as speakers in Hawkesbury. The periphrastic future is preferred in affirmative contexts

[174] The reader will remark that all instances of the futurate present do not in fact enter into a three-way alternation due to limitations imposed by the semantics of the verb (see Section 5.2.1.1 above). Additional analyses were performed omitting cases where there is no three-way variation. It turns out that removing these tokens has only a minimal effect on the statistical results (see Appendix H).

(factor weight=.57) without a temporal adverb (factor weight=.61); use of the inflected future is virtually categorical in negative contexts (factor weight=.99); and, the futurate present is highly favoured with a specific adverb (factor weight=.88).

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Futurate present		
Polarity	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Affirmative	**.57**	94/116	81	.39	2/116	2	n/a	20/116	17
Negative	.04	2/10	20	**.99**	8/10	80	K.O.	0/10	0
range	*53*			*60*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.16	14/27	52	K.O.	0/27	0	**.88**	13/27	48
Non-Specific	.61	11/13	85	n/a	1/13	8	.39	1/13	8
Absent	**.61**	71/86	83	n/a	9/86	11	.37	6/86	7
range	*45*						*51*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	[.33]	2/4	50	[.86]	1/4	25	[.58]	1/4	25
Distal	[.51]	59/78	76	[.48]	1/78	1	[.50]	18/78	23
range									
	Total N: 96/126			Total N: 10/126			Total N: 20/126		
	Input: .81			Input: .06			Input: .12		
	Significance: .000			Significance: .000			Significance: .000		
	Log likelihood: -52.85			Log likelihood: -15.108			Log likelihood: -43.98		

TABLE 5.16 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected in the speech of unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

As can be seen in Table 5.17, the results for the semi-restricted speakers are very similar to those for the unrestricted speakers in the minority communities. The periphrastic future is marginally favoured in affirmative clauses (factor weight=.54), slightly less than is the case for unrestricted speakers in the same communities (factor weight=.57); it is also more likely to occur in the absence of adverbial specification (factor weight=.63). While the favouring effect of affirmative contexts on choice of the periphrastic future is comparatively weaker than elsewhere, the probability that the inflected future will be used in negative utterances remains very strong (factor weight=.98). As for the futurate present, it is highly favoured with a specific adverb

(factor weight=.76), as one would expect. Its use is also conditioned by temporal reference, but with a range of only 5, the effect of this linguistic factor is negligible.

As compared to the unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay and also to the speakers in Hawkesbury, the results for the semi-restricted speakers suggest that a mid-level degree of restriction in the use of French has little bearing on the relative contribution of the linguistic factors examined. In addition, when these results are viewed alongside the equivalent findings for the semi-restricted speakers in the 1978 corpus (see Table 5.6), it would appear that for semi-restricted speakers the expression of future temporal reference is stable and largely unchanged, in synchrony as it is in diachrony.

There is, however, one difference that sets these speakers apart from the others examined to this point: the relationship between negation and the inflected future has eroded to some extent, which has led to a rise in the occurrence of the periphrastic future in negative contexts. In Section 5.1.3.4 above, which provides an overview of the polarity constraint in the data from the 1978 corpus, I advanced the hypothesis that in a situation of language contact, a destabilization of the polarity constraint will be detected in the context of negative environments. The results for the semi-restricted speakers in the Cornwall and North Bay 2005 sub-corpora support this hypothesis. (In Section 5.2.3.4 below, I discuss the polarity constraint in the 2005 corpus in terms of language restriction.)

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Futurate present		
Polarity	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Affirmative	**.54**	259/333	78	.39	3/333	1	n/a	71/333	21
Negative	.22	23/39	59	**.98**	16/39	41	K.O.	0/39	0
range	*32*			*59*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.22	59/109	54	[.69]	5/109	5	**.76**	45/109	41
Non-Specific	.59	34/41	83	[.57]	3/41	7	.34	4/41	10
Absent	**.63**	189/222	85	[.40]	11/222	5	.39	22/222	10
range	*41*						*42*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	[.64]	9/11	82	n/a	0/11	0	.45	2/11	18
Distal	[.49]	203/282	72	n/a	11/282	4	**.50**	68/282	24
range							*5*		
	Total N: 282/372			Total N: 19/372			Total N: 71/372		
	Input: .79			Input: .01			Input: .18		
	Significance: .000			Significance: .000			Significance: .006		
	Log likelihood: -180.97			Log likelihood: -43.52			Log likelihood: -154.45		

TABLE 5.17 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected in the speech of semi-restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

As for the cohort of restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay, the results of the statistical analyses of the data are displayed in Table 5.18. Even at this level of restriction, the contribution of linguistic factors to the selection of the inflected future and futurate present is largely unaffected. The former is highly favoured in negative clauses (factor weight=.90) and the latter is the preferred variant when a specific adverb is used (factor weight=.79).

The most striking finding is the non-observance of the polarity constraint in the analysis for the periphrastic future. Though this factor group was in fact operative in the data for the restricted speakers in the 1978 corpus, its non-significance in the 2005 data does not actually qualify as a loss. Rather, the absence of an effect for this constraint is a consequence of the inclusion of the futurate present, the variant that did not figure in the analysis of the future data for the cohort of restricted speakers in the 1978 corpus (Table

5.7). An independent multivariate analysis of the data set excluding the futurate present reveals that sentential polarity continues to significantly influence selection of the periphrastic (vs. inflected) future.[175] This still doesn't explain the neutralization of this factor group in relation to the unrestricted speakers and semi-restricted speakers in the 2005 corpus for whom the polarity constraint influences choice of both the periphrastic future and inflected future. As I will discuss below in Section 5.2.3.4, this case of non-significance stems from greater use of the periphrastic future in negative contexts.

One small point of divergence in the results for the periphrastic future concerns the role of adverbial specification. The absence of a time adverbial favours the periphrastic future (factor weight=.61) as it does in the preceding analyses; however, the effect of non-specific adverbs (factor weight=.78) is stronger. I do not view this as a possible breakdown of the effect of this linguistic factor group. It seems more likely that this result obtains due to knockouts for adverbial specification in the analysis of the inflected future, which itself is scarcely used by these speakers (n=25/687).

Finally, temporal distance is also retained as significant, with proximal contexts clearly favouring the periphrastic variant (factor weight=.76). At first glance, it might appear that temporal distance emerged as statistically significant in the data for restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay because sentential polarity is not significant. This is probably not the case, however, as temporal distance and sentential polarity are simultaneously significant in other analyses of the Franco-Ontarian data (e.g., semi-restricted speakers in 1978 and Hawkesbury in 2005). As I've mentioned elsewhere, the results for temporal distance tend to be a challenge to interpret. Consider, too, that the

[175] The factor weights for this analysis are as follows: affirmative – .55, negative – .12 (p= .000).

1978 and 2005 interview protocols were designed to tap more distal futures, thus proximal contexts are scarce. In light of these fact, the results for temporal distance in the run for the futurate present probably aren't very meaningful either.

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Futurate present		
Polarity	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Affirmative	[.51]	478/638	75	.46	15/638	2	[.52]	145/638	23
Negative	[.37]	36/49	74	**.90**	10/49	20	[.28]	3/49	6
range				*42*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.26	128/237	54	K.O.	0/237	0	**.79**	109/238	46
Non-Specific	**.78**	47/51	92	n/a	1/51	2	.23	3/51	6
Absent	.61	339/399	85	n/a	24/399	6	.35	36/398	9
range	*52*						*56*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	**.76**	23/26	89	K.O.	0/26	0	.25	3/26	12
Distal	.49	363/517	70	n/a	9/517	2	**.51**	145/517	28
range	*27*						*26*		
	Total N: 514/687			Total N: 25/687			Total N: 148/687		
	Input: .77			Input: .03			Input: .19		
	Significance: .012			Significance: .000			Significance: .000		
	Log likelihood: -343.29			Log likelihood: -95.87			Log likelihood: -285.93		

TABLE 5.18 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected in the speech of restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay (2005)

5.2.3.3 Pembroke

The last analysis of the linguistic factors is based on data from the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus. The results for restricted speakers in the weak minority community are provided in Table 5.19. A brief examination suffices to conclude that these results differ in trivial ways from those obtained for the restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay. Note, too, that the non-observance of the polarity constraint in the analysis for the periphrastic future is a consequence of the inclusion of the futurate present. An independent multivariate analysis confirms that sentential polarity contributes to the selection of the periphrastic (vs. inflected) future when the tokens of the futurate present are removed

from the data set.[176] With respect to the rest of the factor groups, the same interpretation of the results for the restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay apply here.

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Futurate present		
Polarity	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Affirmative	[.51]	295/380	78	.47	19/380	5	[.53]	66/380	17
Negative	[.43]	31/40	78	.**78**	7/40	18	[.26]	2/40	5
range				*31*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.32	92/157	59	[.48]	7/157	5	.**82**	58/157	37
Non-Specific	.60	30/36	83	[.30]	1/36	3	.58	5/36	14
Absent	.**62**	204/227	90	[.57]	18/227	8	.25	5/227	2
range	*30*						*57*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	.**67**	15/20	75	K.O.	0/20	0	.38	5/20	25
Distal	.48	132/206	64	n/a	13/206	6	.**51**	61/206	30
range	*19*						*13*		
	Total N: 326/420			Total N: 26/420			Total N: 68/420		
	Input: .75			Input: .06			Input: .12		
	Significance: .007			Significance: .009			Significance: .017		
	Log likelihood: -193.26			Log likelihood: -93.99			Log likelihood: -139.06		

TABLE 5.19 Variable rule analysis of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected in the speech of restricted speakers in Pembroke (2005)

5.2.3.4 Summary of results for the polarity constraint

The findings for the five analyses of the linguistic factors discussed above demonstrate that there is a high degree of convergence in the results for all speakers in the 2005 corpus, independent of community and/or level of language restriction. In fact, both the synchronic and the diachronic data for the future variable suggest that the model of variability underpinning the future temporal reference system in Ontario French is longstanding.

The one major point of divergence observed in the 2005 analyses pertains to the relative strength of the polarity constraint, the effect of which diminishes along the

[176] The factor weights for this analysis are as follows: affirmative – .53, negative – .25 (p= .017).

continuum of language restriction in the analyses for the periphrastic future and the inflected future. This is consistent with the observations detailed earlier with regard to the 1978 data (Section 5.1.3.4). The results for the 2005 corpus, like those for the initial corpus, show that the weakening of this constraint is exemplified by 1) the range for this linguistic factor group, i.e., the difference between the factor weights for affirmative and for negative contexts; and 2) the distribution of the variants according to polarity.

With regard to the range, the values for this line of evidence are plotted in Figure 5.9. The range for the inflected future remains high for speakers who exhibit low to moderate levels of restriction in the use of French (range=59–66), but then declines quite sharply for restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay (range=42) and then for speakers in Pembroke (range=31). Note that a range for this variant was obtained in the data for all groups of speakers because the inflected future is consistently favoured in negative contexts. As for the periphrastic future, the ranges for this variant also follow a monotonic slope, but not for all speakers. The apex of the range is located in the data for speakers in Hawkesbury (range=60), whereas unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay do not lag far behind (range=53). The range declines markedly for the semi-restricted speakers in the minority francophone communities (range=32) and ultimately vanishes for restricted speakers in Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke.

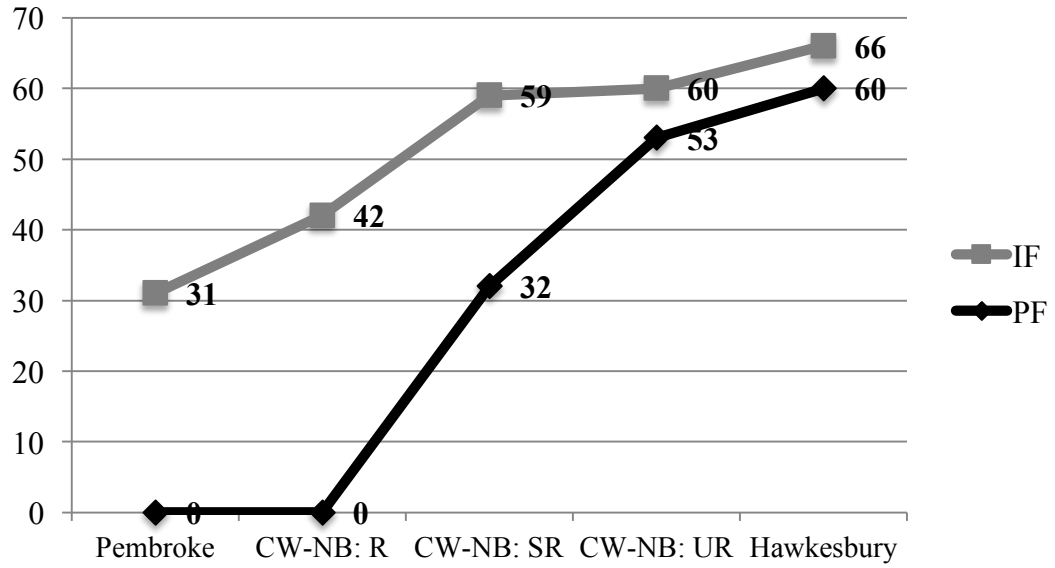


FIGURE 5.9 Range obtained for the periphrastic future and inflected future according to language restriction (2005)

To reiterate the well-established tendency in Laurentian varieties, the inflected future is highly favoured in negative contexts, the area least likely to host the periphrastic future, which vastly prefers affirmative contexts. As I mentioned above in the discussion of the findings for the polarity constraint in the 1978 corpus, in a situation of language restriction, a breakdown in the effect that polarity has on variant choice will originate in negative contexts, starting at the intermediate level of language restriction. The distributions provided in Figure 5.10 below, which reflect the rate of frequency of the variants in affirmative and negative contexts, confirm the existence of a similar pattern in the 2005 corpus.

It is by and large the periphrastic future that dominates in the context of affirmative propositions, at a rate of 94% to 99%, for all groups distinguished across the continuum. Whatever presence the inflected future has in this environment is negligible (< 6%). The periphrastic future is not, however, confined to affirmative utterances, as it

tends to be in other genetically related varieties. Instead, its use rises incrementally along a monotonic slope that extends from one end of the language restriction continuum to the other. As many as 82% of negative contexts are expressed with the periphrastic variant in the Pembroke data, a rate which is considerably higher than the 21% found for the speakers in the francophone majority community of Hawkesbury. It is interesting to note that this last result is unusually high in comparison to the rates identified for other Laurentian varieties, which fall below 8%, and is nearly twice the rate for the unrestricted speakers in the 1978 corpus.[177] To better capture the interplay between the future variants in negative contexts, I reproduce the pertinent results from Figure 5.10 in Figure 5.11.

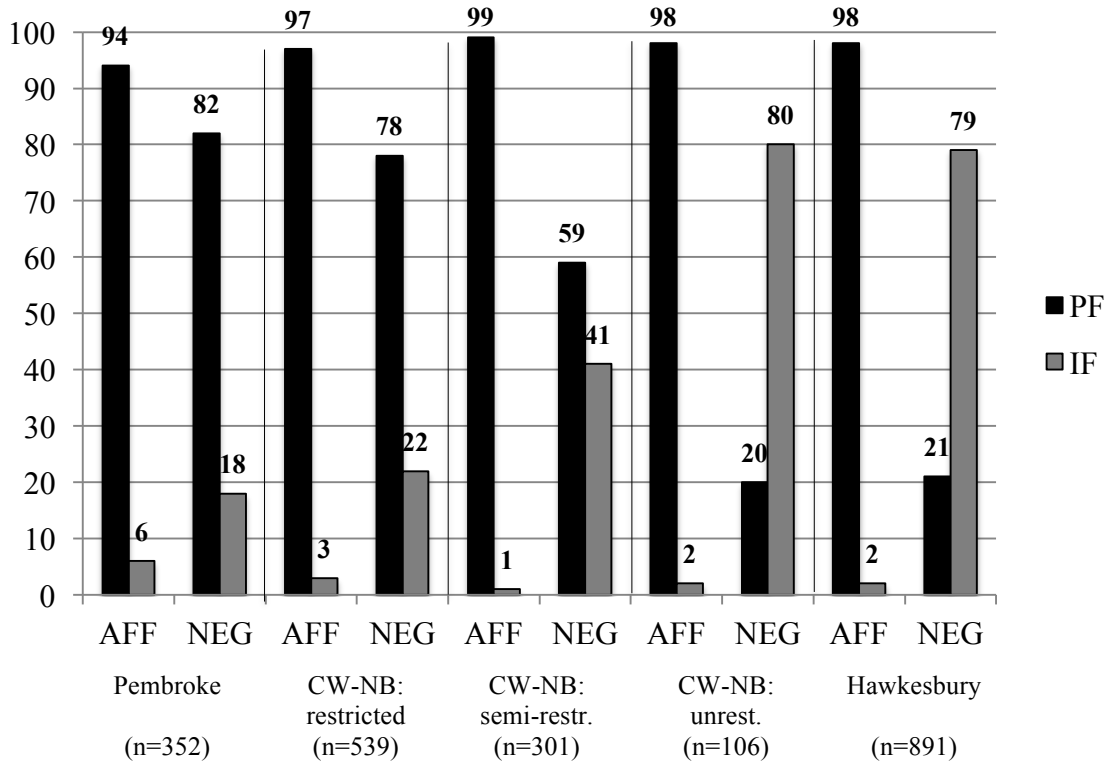


FIGURE 5.10 Distribution of the periphrastic future and inflected future according to polarity and language restriction (2005)

[177] Québec City: 3% (n=13/413; Deshaies and Laforge 1981); Montréal 1971: 0% (n=0/183; Emirkanian and D. Sankoff 1985); Montréal 1984: 8% (n=14/165; Zimmer 1994); Franco-American: 12% (n=9/73; Stelling 2008); Ottawa-Hull: 3% (n=15/471; Poplack and Dion 2009); Québec (RFQA): 1.3% (n=6/457; Poplack and Dion 2009); Montréal 1971 and 1984: 0.3% (n=2/588; Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011).

According to the distributions in Figure 5.11, only speakers in Hawkesbury and those in the unrestricted cohort residing in the minority communities adhere to the general Laurentian pattern. While the data indicate that for these speakers the inflected future is used predominantly in negative contexts, at 79% to 80%, use of the periphrastic future in such contexts is, as mentioned previously, not uncommon. The Laurentian pattern is not observed in the speech of the remaining groups of Franco-Ontarian adolescents, whose reduced exposure to French has clearly interfered with its acquisition. At the opposite end of the continuum, the restricted speakers in Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke make only sporadic use of the inflected future in negative clauses, at 18% to 22%; for these speakers, who rarely employ this variant at all (4% to 6%), the periphrastic future constitutes the default variant in the context of negation, at 78% to 82%. When we consider that the results for the restricted speakers are a mirror image of those for the speakers exhibiting the lowest amount of restriction, the extent to which the former have not internalized the polarity constraint becomes more apparent. In regard to the semi-restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay, their results are situated at an intermediate point on the continuum. It is in the data for this group that a reversal in the usual association of either variant in affirmative and negative environments begins: the periphrastic future comprises 59% of the negative tokens, reserving some 41% for the inflected future.

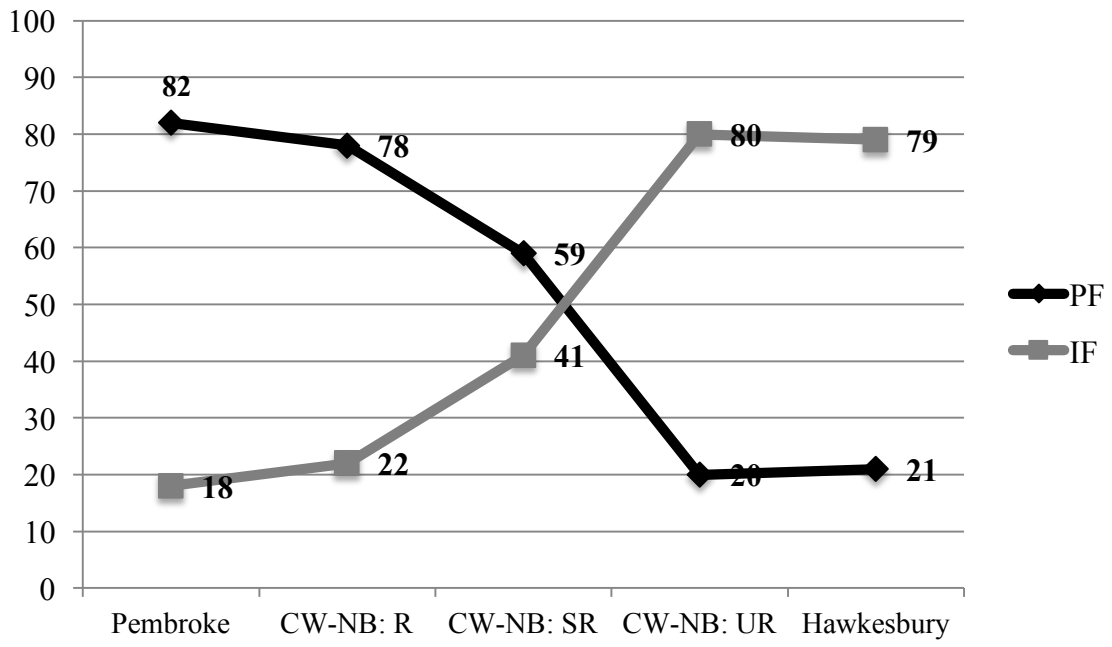


FIGURE 5.11 Distribution of the periphrastic future and inflected future in negative contexts according to language restriction (2005)

In-depth examination of the 2005 data reveals that sentential polarity plays a greater part in variant choice for some speakers more so than for others. In variationist research on French this factor group is regularly referred to as the 'polarity constraint', a term repeated throughout the present study. To speak of polarity as a factor that constrains variability is, however, somewhat misleading for Ontario French and needs contextualization. Indeed, for all speakers in the 2005 corpus affirmative contexts are highly favourable to the periphrastic future and its (virtually categorical) use in this environment can be predicted with a great deal of accuracy. Just how polarity actually constrains variant choice in negative contexts varies considerably and depends on relative degree of language restriction. The lower the level of restriction in the use of French, the greater the effect of the polarity constraint and, consequently, the more likely negative contexts will host the inflected future. As degree of language restriction intensifies, the

more the polarity constraint is attenuated and, consequently, the more likely negative contexts will attract the periphrastic future. This observation holds for speakers in both the 1978 corpus and the 2005. A gradually weakened polarity constraint is therefore not a new development in Ontario French; rather, it is a consequence of moderate to high levels of language restriction which is repeated in time. This is illustrated in Figure 5.12, which displays the distributions of the periphrastic future and the inflected future in negative contexts for the 1978 corpus (dotted lines) and the 2005 corpus (solid lines).[178]

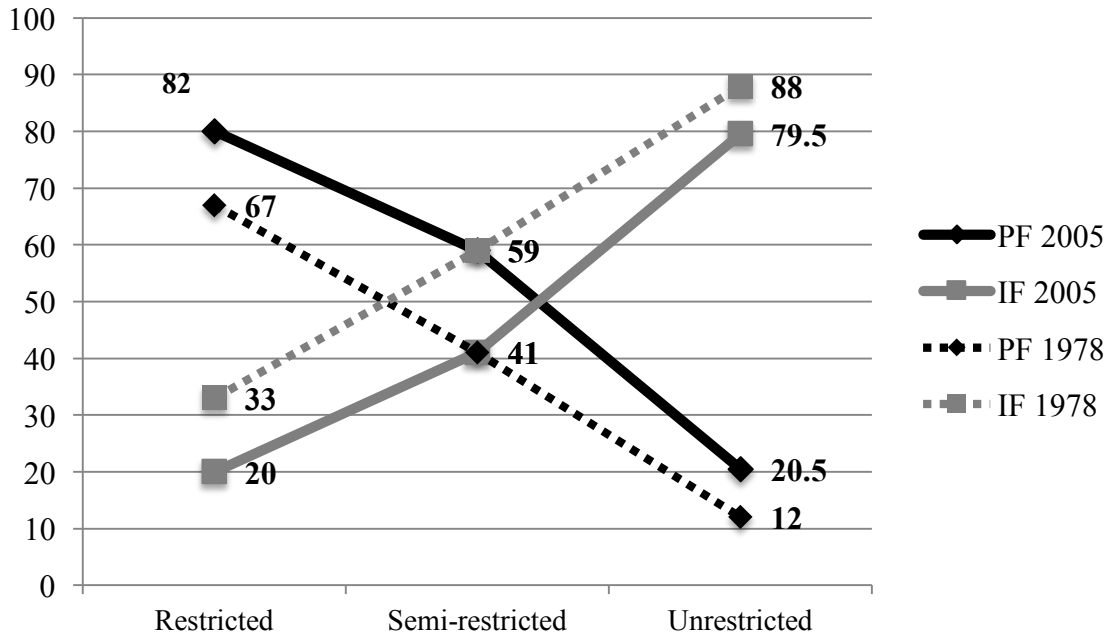


FIGURE 5.12 Distribution of the periphrastic future and inflected future in negative contexts according to language restriction (1978 and 2005)

A diachronic account of the distribution of the variants shows that negative contexts continue to allow much more variability in the speech of restricted and semi-restricted speakers as opposed to unrestricted speakers. Nevertheless, use of the

[178] The figures for unrestricted speakers in 2005 represents an average rate for all speakers in Hawkesbury, including the semi-restricted speakers, as well as for the unrestricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay. Those for restricted speakers in 2005 represents an average rate for all speakers in Pembroke and for the restricted speakers in Cornwall and North Bay.

periphrastic future in negative contexts has risen over time for speakers of all levels of language restriction. This is especially true for semi-restricted speakers, whose use of the variants in negative contexts has undergone a complete reversal: in 1978, 59% of negative tokens were in the inflected future, whereas the same percentage is attributed to the other variant nearly three decades later.

The multiple facts amassed to this point provide convincing evidence to suggest that the vitality of the inflected future in Ontario French is directly contingent on its relative productivity in negative clauses. In so far as there is a robust effect for the polarity constraint, the inflected future continues to thrive in this area of the grammar and its proportionate use remains stable. The situation described here pertains most to the speakers with the highest levels of exposure to spoken French (i.e., all unrestricted speakers as well as semi-restricted speakers in Hawkesbury). When the polarity constraint is destabilized, use of the periphrastic future rises and subsequently displaces the inflected future – not simply from negative contexts, but from the language altogether. This scenario is most applicable to the speakers with the lowest levels of exposure to French (i.e., the restricted speakers) and, to a lesser extent, to those with more or less equal exposure to French and English (i.e., the semi-restricted speakers). In sum, the loss of the inflected future represents a confirmed change in Ontario French, and the only participants in this change are those who observe the polarity constraint in part, not in full.

In the preceding chapter, I argued that the decline in use of the subjunctive results from substitution of the formal variant *devoir*, which occurs at a high rate of frequency during classroom instruction, for matrix *falloir*, the most frequently occurring subjunctive trigger. I also argued that teacher input is a likely source of the elevated rates of *devoir* in

the speech of adolescents residing in the minority francophone communities. Since the formal learning environment is in part responsible for the decline of the subjunctive's most important conditioning context, I also explore the possibility that it has contributed to the breakdown in the effect of sentential polarity.

In my discussion of the results for the expression of necessity in the teacher sub-corpus, I showed that *devoir* and *falloir* were used at roughly the same rates in all four communities (*devoir*: 44% to 56%; *falloir*: 44% to 56%). This suggests to me that when Franco-Ontarian adolescents are at school, they receive more or less the same input, no matter the locality. Assuming this to be true, I extracted the tokens of the periphrastic future and inflected future from the Hawkesbury teacher sub-corpus only. These results, which act as a baseline for teachers in all four communities, are presented in Table 5.20.

N=844	Periphrastic future				Inflected future			
	Affirmative		Negative		Affirmative		Negative	
Origin	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ontario	624/655	95	0	0	31/655	5	34/34	100
Québec	100/107	93	0	0	7/107	7	10/10	100
Age								
20-29	204/213	96	0	0	9/213	4	5/5	100
30-49	186/201	93	0	0	15/201	7	19/19	100
50+	334/348	96	0	0	14/348	4	20/20	100
Sex								
Female	459/481	95	0	0	22/481	5	18/18	100
Male	265/281	94	0	0	16/281	6	26/26	100

TABLE 5.20 Distribution of the periphrastic future and the inflected future according to the social factors for teachers in Hawkesbury (2005)

The teacher sub-corpus yields 844 tokens of the variable: 90% (n=762/844) are the periphrastic future and 10% (n=82/844) are the inflected future. While these rates differ somewhat from those reported for other communities, they are within the range for the adolescents in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus (PF: 87%, IF: 13%). A division of the variants according to sentential polarity shows not only that teachers observe the

constraint, but that they do so in a way that closely resembles the Laurentian pattern (e.g., Montréal French; see Evans Wagner and G. Sankoff 2011). Put differently, when teachers address their students in the classroom there is no variability in negative clauses, no matter their province of origin, age or sex. For all teachers, negation is expressed exclusively with the inflected future (100%, n=44), never with the periphrastic construction. Note, too, that the inflected future is not confined to negative utterances, as it tends to be in the adolescents' interview data. In fact, it is selected in affirmative contexts (46%, n=38/82) almost as often as in negative ones (54%, n=44/82).

The results for the Hawkesbury teacher sub-corpus suggest that the polarity constraint is operative in the teachers' future temporal reference system. As such, spoken teacher input could be a potential source for the transmission of this constraint, not an obstacle to its acquisition. If we assume that a similar (even identical) system is shared by the teachers in the other communities as well, then all Franco-Ontarian adolescents in the classroom are exposed to the principal linguistic factor that governs variant choice.

Furthermore, with respect to the use of the inflected future in the students' interviews, neither its synchronic decline nor its diachronic loss can be attributable to marginal use by the school. Though the inflected form accounts for only 10% of the data in the teachers' spoken interventions, in published pedagogical materials its frequency of use is extremely high. For example, in the students' textbooks (in use at the time the corpus was constructed), it occurs at a rate of 98% (n=1556/1584) in exercises, instructions, etc. and slightly less, at 75% (n=167/222), in oral representations such as dialogues and face-to-face interviews.[179]

[179] I thank Raymond Mougeon for providing me with these figures.

In light of the findings for teacher input, I suggest that the spoken model which prevails in the classroom cannot have been involved in this case of linguistic change. While teachers themselves adhere to the Laurentian pattern observed in neighbouring varieties, they probably do not notice which students also adhere to it (to whatever extent) and which do not. Since the polarity constraint operates below the level of consciousness, it is very probable that when students speak, any amount of use of the periphrastic future in negative contexts, and the ensuing avoidance of the inflected future, goes entirely unnoticed.

6.0 Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed that the expression of future temporal reference has undergone change in the Franco-Ontarian communities, but only for the periphrastic future and inflected future variants. The futurate present is in large part conditioned by verbs of motion, especially *aller*, and does not appear to be involved in the changes observed.

With respect to the findings for the social factors, an aggregate analysis of the data from the 1978 corpus showed that the inflected future was favoured most by middle-class speakers, suggesting that it was the prestige variant at that time. It also showed that variant choice was not influenced by degree of language restriction. According to the findings for the 2005 corpus, the relative social prestige of the variants appears to have reversed over time, as the periphrastic future has become the preferred variant of the middle class. This favouring of the periphrastic future, observed only in the data for speakers in Hawkesbury, might be due to pressure on members of the middle class to employ less prestigious features in this largely working-class community. As for the

remaining communities and language restriction groups, language restriction is the sole social factor to predict variant choice. Speakers who exhibit mid to high levels of language restriction are least likely to select the inflected future. A multivariate analysis confirms that for such speakers, the decline in use of this variant between 1978 and 2005 is statistically significant. For their part, unrestricted speakers are not participating in this change.

As for the findings for the linguistic factors, a summary of the statistical results for 1978 and 2005 shows that the environments with the strongest contributions to variant choice have remained relatively unchanged, irrespective of degree of language restriction:[180]

	1978 corpus			2005 corpus				
	R	SR	UN	Pemb	CW-NB: R	CW-NB: SR	CW-NB: UR	Hawk
Polarity								
PF: Affirmative	.52	.56	.60	[.51]	[.51]	.54	.57	.63
IF: Negative	.76	.96	.99	.78	.90	.98	.99	.99
Adv. specification								
PF: Absent	n/s	.58	.61	.62	.61	.63	.61	.61
P: Specific	n/a	.69	.73	.82	.79	.76	.88	.81

TABLE 5.21 Summary of findings for polarity and adverbial specification (1978 and 2005)

According to the results provided in Table 5.21, the periphrastic future tends to be favoured in affirmative contexts with no adverbial specification; the inflected future is strongly favoured in negative contexts; and the futurate present is strongly favoured with specific adverbs. These observations generally hold for both points in time. Additional analyses of different linguistic factors would be required in order to determine whether or not changes have taken place in other areas of the future temporal reference system.

[180] Due to the inconsistent effect of temporal distance in Ontario French, and in Laurentian varieties more generally (see Section 3.3.2), I exclude it from this summary.

The most important finding for the linguistic factors is the role of sentential polarity in the use of the inflected future which, according to the general Laurentian pattern, is the dominant variant in negative contexts. Destabilization of the effect of this linguistic factor results from a rise in use of the periphrastic future in such contexts. Consequently, the inflected future is displaced from its preferred environment thus furthering its decline.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion

1.0 Overview

In this dissertation, I presented an analysis of two grammatical variables – the variable use of the subjunctive mood and the expression of future temporal reference – in two corpora for four varieties of French spoken in Ontario. The analyses were conducted within a quantitative variationist framework which allowed for comparisons across language restriction categories, across communities and across time. In addition, it was possible to make comparisons with the findings reported in other research which employed the same variationist approach. A central theme in these comparisons was the effect that differing degrees of language restriction has on variable usage.

In the analyses for mood choice, which is based primarily on data from the more recent 2005 corpus, I showed that the overall number of subjunctive-selecting contexts declines along the continuum of language restriction. This result is driven by a reduction in the use of the matrix verb *falloir*, which competes with deontic *devoir*. Where rates of *devoir* are low (e.g., in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus), the frequency of *falloir* is high and so, too, is use of the subjunctive. Conversely, where rates of *devoir* are high (e.g., in the Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus), there is a concomitant decrease in the use of *falloir* and also of the subjunctive mood. The findings for the 1978 corpus show that use of *devoir* was minimal at that time, suggesting that the increase of this variant at the expense of *falloir* reflects a change over time. The findings for mood choice reaffirm the importance of *falloir* not only as a subjunctive governor but also as the principal context responsible for high rates of subjunctive usage overall.

In the analyses for future temporal reference, I showed that in the 1978 corpus there was a high degree of similarity in the results across the language restriction categories. This was seen in the proportionate use of the periphrastic future and inflected future and also in the statistical results for the linguistic factors that constrain variant choice. The key finding relates to the relative effect of sentential polarity, which progressively weakens along the language restriction continuum (see also Grimm and Nadasdi 2011). Weakening of this constraint involves increased use of the periphrastic future in negative contexts, which, in Laurentian French varieties, tend only to favour the inflected future. A somewhat different situation obtains in the data from the 2005 corpus. While, as a whole, variant choice is generally conditioned by the same linguistic factors, irrespective of degree of language restriction, the inflected future shows signs of decline – but only for certain types of speakers. Specifically, a decline is observed in the data for semi-restricted and restricted speakers. This is because these speakers in particular have a polarity constraint which is comparatively weaker than that of the unrestricted speakers (for whom the inflected future shows no signs of loss) as well as that of the previous generation (1978 corpus) of semi-restricted and restricted speakers. Thus, once the periphrastic future has taken over in negative contexts, the inflected future is on the way to being lost entirely and this case of language change moves toward completion. In summary, the reduction in verbal morphology – in the conjugation paradigms for the subjunctive mood and the inflected future – can be ascribed to the progressive loss of or breakdown in the conditioning contexts most favourable to its maintenance.

2.0 Research questions

I return to the five research questions posed in the introductory chapter:

1. What social and linguistic factors condition selection of the subjunctive mood in spoken Ontario French?

Beginning with the social factors, it is not possible to draw firm conclusions based on the data from the 1978 corpus, due to the small size of the data sets. In the 2005 data, there is evidence of social conditioning in the Hawkesbury sub-corpus: one pattern emerges for the data for 'other' infrequently used embedded verbs, whereby middle class speakers favour the subjunctive in this context, as opposed to working class speakers who disfavour its use. Degree of language restriction also conditions mood choice: as restriction in the use of French increases, the likelihood that the subjunctive mood will be selected consistently decreases.

There is a broad range of findings for the linguistic factors for the Hawkesbury, Cornwall and North Bay sub-corpora. The most important concerns the effect of *falloir*, which plays a crucial role in subjunctive usage. Other governors such as *vouloir* and *aimer* also favour the subjunctive, but to a lesser extent. The choice of embedded verb also exerts an effect on selection of the subjunctive, which is favoured with the highly frequent verbs *être*, *avoir*, *aller* and *faire*. As for the findings for semantic class, I show that this factor group cannot be submitted to statistical analysis due to interactions with specific matrix constructions or to skewing of the data in favour of certain verb classes. With respect to tense of the embedded verb, tense harmony involving the conditional does not appear to be operative, in contrast to results reported in the literature of a number of other Laurentian varities. Finally, more often than not the subjunctive is used

when the *que* complementizer is present. Since the data for the Pembroke sub-corpus are sparse, they could not be analyzed in detail for this variable.

2. What social and linguistic factors condition the expression of future temporal reference in spoken Ontario French?

With respect to the role of social factors, in the 1978 corpus social class had a statistically significant effect on variant choice, with the inflected future favoured by middle class speakers (i.e., it was the prestige variant). In 2005, social class also contributes to variant choice, but only in the Hawkesbury sub-corpus: it is the periphrastic future which is favoured by middle class speakers. An aggregate analysis of the data for 2005 shows that choice of the periphrastic and inflected future is influenced solely by degree of language restriction. At neither point in time do any social factors contribute to the selection of the futurate present.

With regards to the results for linguistic factors, at both points in time, the periphrastic future is the default variant, most favoured when there is no adverbial specification; the inflected future is strongly favoured in negative contexts; and, finally, the futurate present is highly favoured in clauses modified by a specific temporal adverb (or adverbial). Additionally, the futurate present is most likely to appear with verbs of motion, especially the verb *aller*. It is difficult to conclude what the overall effect of temporal distance is, given that its contribution to variant choice is inconsistent in Ontario French as it is in other Laurentian varieties.

3. To what extent do variable levels of contact with English, measured in terms of degree of language restriction at the level of the individual and of the community, influence variation?

As restriction in the use of French becomes more pronounced, several consistent patterns may be observed:

- the number of subjunctive-selecting contexts declines;
- the frequency of *falloir* declines;
- the rate of use of the subjunctive with *falloir* declines;
- the rate of use of *devoir* increases;
- the rate of use of the inflected future declines (2005 corpus only); and
- the effect of the polarity constraint is weakened (1978 and 2005 corpora).

Generally speaking, those who exhibit the lowest levels of language restriction (e.g., speakers in the Hawkesbury 2005 corpus, unrestricted speakers in either corpus) are least impacted by this parameter. Conversely, those who exhibit the highest levels of language restriction (e.g., restricted speakers, independent of community or time period) are most impacted by this parameter. The results for speakers experiencing a mid-level degree of language restriction are situated at intermediate points between those for speakers on either pole of the continuum. These patterns adduced above are consistent with previous research on Ontario French (Mougeon and Beniak 1991; Mougeon and Nadasdi 1998).

4. Is there evidence of change over time with respect to selection of the subjunctive mood and the expression of future temporal reference?

Due to a paucity of data for verbal matrices in the 1978 corpus, it is not possible to ascertain whether the subjunctive mood itself has undergone change over time. However, a real-time comparison of the findings for the expressions of necessity suggests that the

rise in use of *devoir* is an example of change. Such a change affects the expression of deontic modality more generally.

With regards to the expression of future temporal reference, multivariate analyses confirm that the inflected future has ceded territory to the periphrastic future for some speakers. The loss of this variant is observed in the data for semi-restricted and restricted speakers.

5. How do the results presented in this dissertation compare with those reported in studies of the same variables in other Laurentian varieties?

If we take as our baseline unrestricted speakers (2005 corpus) and speakers in the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus, there are few differences between these results and those reported for speakers in many other Laurentian varieties. By way of example, *falloir* is the leading subjunctive governor, use of *devoir* is minimal and there is evidence for a socially productive subjunctive. In addition, the inflected future remains entrenched in the future temporal reference system due to the persistence of a strong polarity constraint. It is interesting to note that the data for the Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus show a rate of use of the periphrastic future in negative contexts which is even higher than what has been reported for other Laurentian varieties. However, the higher rate of periphrastic future tokens has not had a negative impact on the rate of selection of the inflected future, as was found to be the case for speakers in other language restriction categories for the same time period. Finally, when compared with the results for speakers who experience little to no restriction in the use of French, the overall results for speakers who do exhibit varying degrees of language restriction reveal convergences and divergences.

3.0 Suggestions for future research

Certain aspects of usage related to the variables examined in this dissertation await further exploration. For example, non-verbal matrices were not included in the analyses for mood choice (but see Appendix C for distributions); without more detailed study of these subjunctive-selecting contexts, our understanding of the use of the subjunctive mood in Ontario French remains incomplete. It would also be useful to examine more fully the linguistic and social factors which govern expressions of necessity. Moreover, the variable use of the subjunctive mood and the expression of future temporal reference both merit further investigation for the teacher sub-corpus, in the spirit of new work by Mougeon and Rehner (2014) for other variables. The results of further analyses will no doubt prove useful in testing hypotheses regarding how educational input in the formal learning context may, in the minority communities especially, constitute a source for linguistic change.

The study of language change in real time is a relatively underexplored dimension of sociolinguistic research, and in particular for minority languages. While the present dissertation addresses this lacuna in regards to grammatical change, more research is needed – within and beyond the area of morphosyntax – in order to better understand the dynamics of language variation and change in Ontario French and, indeed, in minority languages more generally.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: Survey questionnaires (1978 and 2005 corpora)

1978 student corpus

Questionnaire écrit - niveau secondaire

Written questionnaire - Secondary level

1. Nom/Name:_____

2. Adresse/Address:_____ rue/street _____ ville/city

3. Sexe/Sex: M ☐ F ☐

4. Date de naissance/Date of birth: _____ jour/day / _____ mois/month / 19____ année/year

5. (a) Année scolaire/Grade: 9 ☐ 12 ☐ (b) Nom de l'école/ Name of school:_____

6. (a) Ton lieu de naissance/ Your place of birth:

Ontario	☐	Nom de la ville/ Name of city:_____
Québec/ Quebec	☐	Nom de la ville/ Name of city:_____
Autre province canadienne/Other Canadian province	☐	Nom de la province/ Name of province:_____
Autre pays/Other country	☐	Nom de pays/ Name of country:_____
Ne sais pas/ Don't know	☐	

(b) Si tu n'es pas né en Ontario, en quelle année es-tu arrivé en Ontario?/ If you were born outside of the province of Ontario, in what year did you arrive in Ontario? _____

7. (a) Lieu de naissance de ton père/ Your father's place of birth:

Ontario	☐	Nom de la ville/ Name of city:_____
Québec/ Quebec	☐	Nom de la ville/ Name of city:_____

Autre province canadienne/Other Canadian province	☐	Nom de la province/ Name of province:_____
Autre pays/ Other country	☐	Nom du pays/ Name of country:_____
Ne sais pas/ Don't know	☐	

(b) Si ton père n'est pas né en Ontario, en quelle année est-il venu s'établir en Ontario?/ If your father was born outside of the province of Ontario, in what year did he come here?

Avant 1910/Before 1910	☐
1910 - 1930	☐
1931 - 1949	☐
1950 - 1965	☐
Après 1965/After 1965	☐
Ne sais pas/Don't know	☐

8. (a) Lieu de naissance de ta mère/ Your mother's place of birth:

Ontario	☐	Nom de la ville/ Name of city:_____
Québec/ Quebec	☐	Nom de la ville/ Name of city:_____
Autre province canadienne/Other Canadian province	☐	Nom de la province/ Name of province:_____
Autre pays/ Other country	☐	Nom du pays/ Name of country:_____
Ne sais pas/ Don't know	☐	

(b) Si ta mère n'est pas née en Ontario, en quelle année est-elle venue s'établir en Ontario?/ If your mother was born outside of the province of Ontario, in what year did she come here?

Avant 1910/Before 1910	☐
1910 - 1930	☐
1931 - 1949	☐
1950 - 1965	☐
Après 1965/After 1965	☐
Ne sais pas/Don't know	☐

9. Profession du père/Father's occupation: a) Genre de travail/
Type of employment:_____

b) Lieu de travail/
Employer:_____

10. Profession de la mère/Mother's occupation:

a) Genre de travail/
Type of employment:_____

b) Lieu de travail/
Employer:_____

11. Ecoles fréquentées/Schools attended:

Nom/Name	Année(s) scolaire(s)/ Grade(s)	Langue d'enseignement/Language of instruction					
		Uniquement en français/ In French only	Plutôt en français/ Mostly in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Plutôt en anglais/ Mostly in English	Uniquement en anglais/ In English only	Autre (précisez)/ Other (specify)
a)		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
b)		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
c)		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
d)		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

12. Dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à ton père?/ In which language do you speak to your father?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

13. Dans quelle langue est-ce que ton père te parle?/ In which language does your father speak to you?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

14. Dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à ta mère?/ In which language do you speak to your mother?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. Dans quelle langue est-ce que ta mère te parle?/ In which language does your mother speak to you?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. Dans quelle langue est-ce que tes parents se parlent entre eux?/ In which language do your parents speak to each other?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. J'ai _____ frère(s) et _____ soeur(s)/ I have _____ brother(s) and _____ sister(s).

18. Quand tu es à la maison, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à ton/tes frère(s) et/ou soeur(s)?/ When at home, in which language do you speak to your brother(s) and/or sister(s)?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

19. En dehors de la maison, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à ton/tes frère(s) et/ou soeur(s)?/ When not at home, in which language do you speak to your brother(s) and/or sister(s)?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. Quand tu te réunis avec tes amis chez toi, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu leur parles?/ When you get together at your house, in which language do you speak to your friends?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. En dehors de la maison, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à tes amis?/ When not at home, in which language do you speak to your friends?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Souvent en français/ Often in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Souvent en anglais/ Often in English	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

22. Je regarde la télévision.../ I watch television...

Souvent/ Often	Assez souvent/ Fairly often	Des fois/ Sometimes	Rarement/ Rarely	Jamais/ Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. Quand je regarde la télévision, je regarde... / When I watch T.V., I watch...

Toujours des programmes français/ French programmes always	Souvent des programmes français/ French programmes often	Autant de programmes français qu'anglais/ As many French as English programmes	Souvent des programmes anglais/ English programmes often	Toujours des programmes anglais/ English programmes always
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

24. J'écoute la radio... / I listen to the radio...

Souvent/ Often	Assez souvent/ Fairly often	Des fois/ Sometimes	Rarement/ Rarely	Jamais/ Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25. Quand j'écoute la radio, j'écoute... / When I listen to the radio, I listen to...

Toujours des programmes français/ French programmes always	Souvent des programmes français/ French programmes often	Autant de programmes français qu'anglais/ As many French as English programmes	Souvent des programmes anglais/ English programmes often	Toujours des programmes anglais/ English programmes always
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

26. Je lis des livres... / I read books...

Souvent/ Often	Assez souvent/ Fairly often	Des fois/ Sometimes	Rarement/ Rarely	Jamais/ Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

27. Quand je lis, je lis... / When I read books, I read...

Toujours des livres écrits en français/ Books written in French always	Souvent des livres écrits en français/ Books written in French often	Autant de livres écrits en français qu'en anglais/ As many books written in French as in English	Souvent des livres écrits en anglais/ Books written in English often	Toujours des livres écrits en anglais/ Books written in English always
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

28. Je lis des revues, des journaux ... / I read magazines, newspapers...

Souvent/ Often	Assez souvent/ Fairly often	Des fois/ Sometimes	Rarement/ Rarely	Jamais/ Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

29. Quand je lis des revues, des journaux, je lis... / When I read magazines, newspapers, I read...

Toujours des revues, journaux écrits en français/ Magazines, newspapers written in French always	Souvent des revues, journaux écrits en français/ Magazines, newspapers written in French often	Autant de revues, journaux écrits en français qu'en anglais/ As many newspapers, magazines written in French as in English	Souvent des revues, journaux écrits en anglais/ Magazines, newspapers written in English often	Toujours des revues, journaux écrits en anglais / Magazines, newspapers written in English always
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

30. J'écoute des disques... / I listen to records...

Souvent/ Often	Assez souvent/ Fairly often	Des fois/ Sometimes	Rarement/ Rarely	Jamais/ Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

31. Quand j'écoute des disques, j'écoute.../ When I listen to records, I listen to...

Toujours des disques français/ French records always	Souvent des disques français/ French records often	Autant de disques français qu'anglais/ As many French records as English once	Souvent des disques anglais/ English records often	Toujours des disques anglais/ English records always
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

32. Si tu avais le choix, dans l'avenir, dans quel genre de communauté aimerais-tu demeurer?/ If you have the choice, in the future, in which kind of community would you like to live?

Uniquement française/ French only	Plutôt française/ Mostly French	Autant française qu'anglaise/ As much French as English	Plutôt anglaise/ Mostly English	Uniquement anglaise/ English only
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

33. Si tu as l'intention d'élever des enfants, dans quelle langue aimerais-tu que ton/tes enfant(s) soit(ent) éduqué(s)?/ If you intend to have children, in which language would you like your child/children to be educated?

Uniquement en français/ In French only	Surtout en français/ Mostly in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Surtout en anglais/ Mostly in English	Uniquement en anglais/ In English only
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

34. Prévois-tu poursuivre tes études dans un collège ou une université après avoir terminé le secondaire?/ Do you plan to go to college or univereity after finishing high school?

oui/yes ☐ non/no ☐

35. Si oui, dans quelle langue aimerais-tu étudier?/ If yes, in which language would you like to study?

Uniquement en français/ In French only	Plutôt en français/ Mostly in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Plutôt en anglais/ Mostly in English	Uniquement en anglais/ In English only
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

36. Si oui, dans quelle langue prévois-tu étudier?/ If yes, in which language do you plan to study?

Uniquement en français/ In French only	Plutôt en français/ Mostly in French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/ As much in French as in English	Plutôt en anglais/ Mostly in English	Uniquement en anglais/ In English only
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

37. a) Donne la liste de trois établissements post-secondaires pour lesquels tu aimerais poser ta candidature?/ List three post-secondary institutions to which you would like to apply?

1) _____

2) _____

3) _____

4) Ne sais pas/ Don't know ☐

b) Indique le(s) sujet(s) dans lequel/lesquels tu aimerais te spécialiser et la langue dans laquelle tu aimerais suivre ce cours?/ Indicate the subject(s) in which you would like to major and the language in which you would like to take this course?

Sujet de spécialisation/major:	En français/ In French	En anglais/ In English	Indifférent/ Indifferent	Ne sais pas/ Don't know
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐

2005 student corpus

Questionnaire écrit - Niveau secondaire **Nom de l'étudiant(e):**……

1. **Nom de l'école et année scolaire/Name of school and grade:**…… 9 ☐ 12 ☐
2. **Sexe/Sex:** F ☐ M ☐
3. **Date de naissance/Date of birth:** **jour/day** …… **mois/month** …… **année/year** ……
4. **Ton lieu de naissance/Your place of birth:**

Ontario	☐	Nom de la ville/Name of city:……
Québec	☐	Nom de la ville/Name of city:……
Autre province/Other province	☐	Nom de la province/Name of province:……
Autre pays/Other country	☐	Nom du pays/Name of country:……

5. **J'habite à/I have lived in** …….. **Depuis combien de temps?/For how many years?**
   8 ans ou plus/8 years or more ☐ moins de 8 ans/fewer than 8 years ☐
6. **Si tu n'es pas né(e) en Ontario, en quelle année es-tu arrivé(e) en Ontario?/If you were not born in Ontario, in what year did you arrive in Ontario:** 19……. ou/or 200.….
7. **Quelle est la première langue que tu as apprise À LA MAISON AVANT D'ALLER À L'ÉCOLE? Si tu as appris plus d'une langue À LA MAISON encercle le numéro qui indique leur fréquence d'utilisation (1=très souvent; 2=aussi souvent; 3=peu souvent)./What is the first language that you learned at HOME BEFORE STARTING SCHOOL? If you learned more than one language AT HOME circle the number that indicates how frequently you use them (1=very often; 2=equally often; 3=occasionally):**
   a)……1…2…3…; b)……1…2…3…; c)……1…2…3…..

   S'il y a eu un changement dans la fréquence d'utilisation de ces langues quand tu étais à l'école élémentaire, indique le ci-dessous. If this order of frequency changed when you were in elementary school, indicate it below : Pas de changement/No change ☐

   a)……1…2…3…; b)……1…2…3…; c)……1…2…3…..
8. **Lieu de naissance de ton père/tuteur/Your father's/guardian's place of birth:**

Ontario	☐	Nom de la ville/Name of city:……
Québec	☐	Nom de la ville/Name of city:……
Autre province/Other province	☐	Nom de la province/Name of province:……
Autre pays/Other country	☐	Nom du pays/Name of country:……

9. **Quelle(s) langue(s) est-ce que ton père/tuteur parlait durant son enfance?/What language(s) did your father/guardian speak when he was a child?** ……

10. Si ton père/tuteur n'est pas né en Ontario, en quelle année est-il venu s'établir en Ontario?/If your father/guardian was born outside of the province of Ontario, in what year did he come here?

Avant 1950/Before 1950 ☐ 1950 – 1969 ☐ 1970 – 1989 ☐ Après 1989/After 1989 ☐ Ne sais pas/Don't know ☐

11. Lieu de naissance de ta mère/tutrice/Your mother's/guardian's place of birth:

Ontario ☐ Nom de la ville/Name of city:……

Québec ☐ Nom de la ville/Name of city:……

Autre province/Other province ☐ Nom de la province/Name of province:……

Autre pays/Other country ☐ Nom du pays/Name of country:……..

12. Quelle(s) langue(s) est-ce que ta mère/tutrice parlait durant son enfance?/What language(s) did your mother/guardian speak when she was a child? ……

13. Si ta mère/tutrice n'est pas née en Ontario, en quelle année est-elle venue s'établir en Ontario?/If your mother/guardian was born outside of the province of Ontario, in what year did she come here?

Avant 1950/Before 1950 ☐ 1950 – 1969 ☐ 1970 – 1989 ☐ Après 1989/After 1989 ☐ Ne sais pas/Don't know ☐

14. Le niveau d'études et l'occupation de ton père/tuteur (SVP. Sois aussi précis que possible)/Your father's/guardian's level of education and his occupation (Please be as precise as possible):

a) N'a pas terminé le secondaire/did not complete highschool ☐; secondaire/highschool ☐; collège ou BA/college or BA ☐; études graduées/graduate degree ☐

b) Genre de travail/Type of employment:……

c) Lieu du travail/Place of Work:……

d) Autre (Préciser)/Other (Specify):……..

15. Le niveau d'études et l'occupation de ta mère/tutrice (SVP. Sois aussi précis que possible)/Your mother's/guardian's level of education and her occupation (Please be as precise as possible):

a) N'a pas terminé le secondaire/did not complete highschool ☐; secondaire/highschool ☐; collège ou BA/college or BA ☐; études graduées/graduate degree ☐

b) Genre de travail/Type of employment:……

c) Lieu du travail/Place of Work:……

d) Autre (Préciser)/Other (Specify):……..

16. Quelles écoles as-tu fréquentées et dans quelle(s) langue(s) as-tu fait tes études?/What schools you have attended and in what language(s) were you taught?

Nom de l'école et ville/ Name of school and city	Année/ Grade	Langue d'enseignement/Language of instruction					
		Seulement français/ Only French	Plutôt français/ Mostly French	Autant en français qu'en anglais/As much French as English	Plutôt anglais/ Mostly in English	Seulement anglais/ Only English	Autre (préciser)/Other (specify)

17. **Dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à ton père/tuteur?/In which language do you speak to your father/guardian?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser): Voici des exemples de réponses possibles: i) toujours en italien; ii) souvent en japonais et parfois en français; iii) souvent en anglais, parfois en français, parfois en polonais, etc./Other language choice (Specify): Here are examples of possible answers: i) always in Italian; ii) often in Japanese and sometimes in French; iii) often in English, sometimes in French and sometimes in Polish, etc.

……

……

18. **Dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à ta mère/tutrice?/In which language do you speak to your mother/guardian?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser): Voici des exemples de réponses possibles: i) toujours en italien; ii) souvent en japonais et parfois en français; iii) souvent en anglais, parfois en français, parfois en polonais, etc./Other language choice (Specify): Here are examples of possible answers: i) always in Italian; ii) often in Japanese and sometimes in French; iii) often in English, sometimes in French and sometimes in Polish, etc.

……

……

19. **Dans quelle langue est-ce que ton père/tuteur te parle?/ In which language does your father/guardian speak to you?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser): Voici des exemples de réponses possibles: i) toujours en italien; ii) souvent en japonais et parfois en français; iii) souvent en anglais, parfois en français, parfois en polonais, etc./Other language choice (Specify): Here are examples of possible answers: i) always in Italian; ii) often in Japanese and sometimes in French; iii) often in English, sometimes in French and sometimes in Polish, etc.

……

……

20. **Dans quelle langue est-ce que ta mère/tutrice te parle?/In which language does your mother/guardian speak to you?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser): Voici des exemples de réponses possibles: i) toujours en italien; ii) souvent en japonais et parfois en français; iii) souvent en anglais, parfois en français, parfois en polonais, etc./Other language choice (Specify): Here are examples of possible answers: i) always in Italian; ii) often in Japanese and sometimes in French; iii) often in English, sometimes in French and sometimes in Polish, etc.

……

……

21. **Dans quelle langue est-ce que tes parents se parlent entre eux?/In which language do your parents speak to each other?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):……

……

22. **À la maison, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à ton/tes frère(s) et/ou ta/tes sœur(s)?/At home, in which language do you speak to your brother(s) and/or sister(s)?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):……

……

23. **En dehors de la maison, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à ton/tes frère(s) et/ou ta/tes sœur(s)?/Outside the home, in which language do you speak to your brother(s) and/or sister(s)?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):……

……

24. **À la maison, dans quelle langue parles-tu à tes ami(e)s?/At home, in which language do you speak to your friends?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):……

……

25. Dans la cour d'école, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à tes ami(e)s?/In the schoolyard, in which language do you speak to your friends?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

26. À l'école dans les corridors, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à tes ami(e)s?/At school in the hallways, in which language do you speak to your friends?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

27. À l'école dans la salle de classe, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à tes ami(e)s?/At school in the classroom, in which language do you speak to your friends?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

28. En dehors de la maison et de l'école, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles à tes ami(e)s?/Outside of your home and outside of school, in which language do you speak to your friends?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

29. Si tu as un emploi à temps partiel, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu parles au travail?/If you hold a part-time job, in which language do you speak on the job?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

30. Quand tu sors magasiner, dans quelle langue est-ce que tu communiques?/When you go out shopping in which language do you communicate?

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

31. Tu regardes la télévision/You watch television

Souvent/Often	Assez souvent/Fairly often	Des fois/Sometimes	Rarement/Rarely	Jamais/Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

32. Tu regardes la télévision/You watch television Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

33. Quels sont les programmes de télévision que tu regardes en français?/What television programs do you watch in French?

.....
.....

34. Tu écoutes la radio/You listen to the radio

Souvent/Often	Assez souvent/Fairly often	Des fois/Sometimes	Rarement/Rarely	Jamais/Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

35. **Tu écoutes la radio/You listen to the radio** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

36. **Tu lis des livres durant ton temps libre/You read books in your spare time**

Souvent/Often	Assez souvent/Fairly often	Des fois/Sometimes	Rarement/Rarely	Jamais/Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

37. **Tu lis des livres durant ton temps libre/You read books in your spare time** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

38. **Tu écoutes de la musique enregistrée (ex. DCs, MP3s)/You listen to recorded music (eg. CDs, MP3s)**

Souvent/Often	Assez souvent/Fairly often	Des fois/Sometimes	Rarement/Rarely	Jamais/Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

39. **Tu écoutes de la musique enregistrée (ex. DCs, MP3s)/You listen to recorded music (eg. CDs, MP3s)** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

40. **Tu joues à des jeux sur ordinateur/You play games on the computer**

Souvent/Often	Assez souvent/Fairly often	Des fois/Sometimes	Rarement/Rarely	Jamais/Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

41. **Tu joues à des jeux sur ordinateur/You play games on the computer** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

42. **Tu joues à des jeux électroniques (ex. Gameboy, X-Box)/You play electronic games (eg. Gameboy, X-Box)**

Souvent/ Often	Assez souvent/Fairly often	Des fois/Sometimes	Rarement/Rarely	Jamais/Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

43. **Tu joues à des jeux électroniques (ex. Gameboy, X-Box)/You play electronic games (eg. Gameboy, X-Box)** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

44. **Joues-tu à d'autres jeux en français (ex. jeux de société, jeux de cartes)?/Do you play other games in French (eg. boardgames, card games) ?**
Préciser/Specify:.....
.....

45. **Tu utilises les salons de clavardage (chat) sur Internet/You use Internet chat rooms**

Souvent/Often	Assez souvent/Fairly often	Des fois/Sometimes	Rarement/Rarely	Jamais/Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

46. **Tu utilises les salons de clavardage (chat) sur Internet/You use Internet chat rooms** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....
.....

47. **Tu vas chercher des informations sur Internet/You look for information on the Internet**

Souvent/Often	Assez souvent/Fairly often	Des fois/Sometimes	Rarement/Rarely	Jamais/Never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

48. **Tu vas chercher des informations sur Internet/You look for information on the Internet** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Tout le temps en français/ Always in French	Plus souvent en français qu'en anglais/More often in French than in English	Autant en français qu'en/ anglais/As much in French as in English	Plus souvent en anglais qu'en français/More often in English than in French	Tout le temps en anglais/ Always in English
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre choix de langues (Préciser)/Other language choice (Specify):.....

.....

49. **Dans quel genre de ville aimerais-tu vivre dans l'avenir? Dans une ville où on parle:/If you had the choice in the future in what type of town would you like to live? In a town where people speak:**

Seulement français/ French only	Plutôt français/ Mostly French	Autant français qu'anglais/ As much French as English	Plutôt anglais/ Mostly English	Seulement anglais/ Only English	Autre (préciser)/ Other (specify)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

.....

50. **Si tu as l'intention d'avoir des enfants, dans quelle langue aimerais-tu les élever?/If you intend to have children in which language would you like to raise them?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Seulement français/ French only	Plutôt français/ Mostly French	Autant français qu'anglais/ As much French as English	Plutôt anglais/ Mostly English	Seulement anglais/ Only English	Autre (préciser)/ Other (specify)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

.....

51. **Si tu as l'intention d'avoir des enfants, dans quelle langue aimerais-tu qu'ils fassent leurs études?/If you intend to have children in which language would you like them to be schooled?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Seulement français/ French only	Plutôt français/ Mostly French	Autant français qu'anglais/ As much French as English	Plutôt anglais/ Mostly English	Seulement anglais/ Only English	Autre (préciser)/ Other (specify)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

.....

52. **Prévois-tu poursuivre tes études dans un collège ou une université après avoir terminé le secondaire?/Do you plan on going to college or university after finishing high school?**

Oui/Yes ☐ Non/No ☐

53. **Si oui dans quelle langue PRÉFÉRERAIS-TU étudier?/If yes in which language would you PREFER to study?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Seulement français/ French only	Plutôt français/ Mostly French	Autant français qu'anglais/ As much French as English	Plutôt anglais/ Mostly English	Seulement anglais/ Only English	Autre (préciser)/ Other (specify)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

.....

54. **Si oui dans quelle langue PRÉVOIS-TU étudier?/If yes in which language are you LIKELY to study?** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Seulement français/ French only	Plutôt français/ Mostly French	Autant français qu'anglais/ As much French as English	Plutôt anglais/ Mostly English	Seulement anglais/ Only English	Autre (préciser)/ Other (specify)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

.....

55. **Donne la liste de trois établissements post-secondaires pour lesquels tu aimerais poser ta candidature/List three post-secondary institutions to which you would like to apply** Ne s'applique pas ☐ Ne sais pas/Don't know ☐

a)……..……; b) ……..……; c) ……..……;

56. **Indique le(s) sujet(s) dans le(s)quel(s) tu aimerais te spécialiser/Indicate the subject(s) in which you would like to major** Ne s'applique pas ☐

Sujet(s) de spécialisation/Major(s): …… Ne sais pas/Don't know ☐

57. **Après avoir terminé tes études, quel genre de poste prévois-tu obtenir/Ater having finished school, what type of position do you foresee holding?**

.....

.....

58. **Dans ce poste, en quelle langue prévois-tu travailler?/In your future position in which language do you think you will be working?**

Seulement français/ French only	Plutôt français/ Mostly French	Autant français qu'anglais/ As much French as English	Plutôt anglais/ Mostly English	Seulement anglais/ Only English	Autre (préciser)/ Other (specify)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

.....

59. **Quelle importance attaches-tu au français dans ta vie actuelle?/What importance do you attach to French at present in your life?**

Très important/ Very important	Important/ Important	Assez important/ Fairly important	Très peu important/ Not very important	Pas important/ Not important
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

60. **Quelle importance attaches-tu au français dans l'élaboration de tes plans futurs?/What importance do you attach to French in planning your future?**

Très important/ Very important	Important/ Important	Assez important/ Fairly important	Très peu important/ Not very important	Pas important/ Not important
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Quels mots est-ce que tu utilises pour désigner les objets illustrés ci-dessous? Pour chacun de ces mots, indique l'ordre de fréquence avec lequel tu les utilises (1=le plus fréquent; 2=moins fréquent, etc.). Indique aussi avec quelles personnes et dans quelles situations tu utilises ces mots.

61 a **Mots**	**Fréquence**	**Avec qui et où?**
……	……	……...
……	……	……...
……	……	……...
……	……	……...

61 b **Est-ce que tu connais d'autres mots pour désigner cette chose, mais que tu n'utilises pas?**

.....

62 a	**Mots**	**Fréquence**	**Avec qui et où?**
	……	……	……
	……	……	……
	……	……	……
	……	……	……

62 b **Est-ce que tu connais d'autres mots pour désigner cette chose, mais que tu n'utilises pas?**

.....

63 a	**Mots**	**Fréquence**	**Avec qui et où?**
	……	……	……
	……	……	……
	……	……	……
	……	……	……

63 b **Est-ce que tu connais d'autres mots pour désigner cette chose, mais que tu n'utilises pas?**

.....

64 a	**Mots**	**Fréquence**	**Avec qui et où?**
	……	……	……
	……	……	……
	……	……	……
	……	……	……

64 b **Est-ce que tu connais d'autres mots pour désigner cet objet, mais que tu n'utilises pas?**

.....

APPEDIX B: Distribution of verbal matrix constructions (1978 and 2005 corpora)

(see Appendix D for translations)

Hawkesbury: Subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix constructions

Hawkesbury 1978	N	%SUBJ	Hawkesbury 2005	N	%SUBJ
aimer	3/3	100	*(ad)mettre*	1/14	7
attendre	1/1	100	*aimer*	18/19	95
avoir peur que	3/3	100	*arranger*	1/1	100
falloir	24/25	96	*arriver*	2/7	29
penser	2/4	50	*attendre*	1/1	100
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que)*	2/3	66	*avoir hâte que*	1/1	100
surprendre	1/1	100	*avoir peur que*	4/5	80
voir à	1/1	100	*être/ y avoir des chances que*	2/3	67
vouloir	3/3	100	*demander*	1/1	100
Total	**40/44**		*déranger*	2/2	100
			encourager	1/1	100
			espérer	1/1	100
			être bon que	2/2	100
			être content que	1/1	100
			être correct que	2/2	100
			être fier que	1/2	50
			être heureux que	1/1	100
			être important que	3/3	100
			être impossible que	1/1	100
			être mieux que	2/2	100
			être normal que	2/5	40
			être trop dur que	1/1	100
			faire (imperative)	1/1	100
			faire sûr que	1/1	100
			falloir	278/291	96
			penser (negative)	4/25	16
			se pouvoir (*ça se peut que)*	20/20	100
			souhaiter	1/1	100
			vouloir	27/28	96
			Total	**383/443**	

Hawkesbury: Verbal matrix constructions that did not select the subjunctive

Hawkesbury 1978	N	Hawkesbury 2005	N
Ambiguous tokens	**49**	**Ambiguous tokens**	**374**
c'est pas que	1	*choquer*	1
ça me fait rien que	1	*croire* (negative)	1
dire (negative)	1	*dire* (negative)	1
être rare que	7	*être le fun que*	1
être le seul que	1	*être rare que*	1
s'imaginer (negative)	1	*il y a aucun / personne / rien que*	8
trouver stupide que	1	*il y a pas X que*	4
Total	**13**	*être le seul (X) que*	7
		c'est pas que	3
		se plaindre	1
		restrictive relative	1
		other superlative	2
		c'est supposé que	2
		surprendre	1
		trouver drôle que	1
		trouver plate que	1
		Total	**36**

Cornwall: Subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix constructions

Cornwall 1978	N	$\%_{SUBJ}$	Cornwall 2005	N	$\%_{SUBJ}$
arriver	1/2	50	*aimer*	6/12	50
avoir peur que	1/3	33	*(s')attendre*	2/5	40
être/ y avoir des chances que	1/2	50	*avoir/ être peur que*	1/2	50
être important que	1/1	100	*être/ y avoir des chances que*	1/4	25
être le meilleur x que	1/1	100	*être le fun que*	1/1	100
faire certain que	1/1	100	*être important que*	1/1	100
falloir	50/58	86	*être le mieux que*	1/3	33
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	2/2	100	*être le seul X que*	1/22	5
suffire	1/2	50	*falloir*	94/153	61
vouloir	10/13	77	*penser* (negative)	2/49	4
Total	**69/85**		*se pouvoir* (*ça se peut que*)	3/14	21
			vouloir	17/29	59
			Total	**130/295**	

Cornwall: Verbal matrix constructions that did not select the subjunctive

Cornwall 1978	N	Cornwall 2005	N
Ambiguous tokens	**83**	**Ambiguous tokens**	**241**
aimer	3	*(ad)mettre*	4
c'est pas que	1	*avoir besoin que*	1
croire (negative)	1	*avoir hâte que*	1
dire (negative)	1	*c'est pas que*	4
espérer	3	*choquer*	1
être fâché que	1	croire (negative)	1
s'excuser	1	*dire* (negative)	1
faire sûr que	2	*être à l'avantage de qqn que*	1
il y a pas X que	2	*être chanceux que*	1
il y a personne qui	2	*être content que*	1
le premier X que	1	*être de valeur que*	1
penser (negative)	5	*être fier que*	1
supposons que	8	*être grave que*	1
trouver (negative)	1	*être rare que*	1
Total	**32**	*être surpris que*	3
		faire sûr / certain que	5
		il y a rien que	4
		imaginer (negative)	1
		préférer	1
		other superlative	11
		trouver (negative)	5
		Total	**50**

North Bay: Subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix constructions

North Bay 1978	N	%SUBJ	North Bay 2005	N	%SUBJ
attendre	1/1	100	*accepter*	1/1	100
être bon que	1/2	50	*aimer*	4/9	44
falloir	36/43	84	*attendre*	1/3	33
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	1/2	50	croire (negative)	1/7	14
vouloir	12/15	80	*être bon que*	1/1	100
Total	**51/63**		*être mieux que*	2/2	100
			être préférable que	1/2	50
			falloir	61/90	68
			penser (negative)	3/21	14
			préférer	2/2	100
			se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	7/14	50
			vouloir	16/28	57
			Total	**100/180**	

North Bay: Verbal matrix constructions that did not select the subjunctive

North Bay 1978	N=	North Bay 2005	N=
Ambiguous tokens	**79**	**Ambiguous tokens**	**134**
avoir hâte que	1	*admirer*	1
avoir honte que	1	*arriver*	2
avoir peur que	3	*avoir/ être peur que*	3
dire (negative)	2	*c'est pas que*	1
être bien que	1	*comprendre*	2
être bon que	1	*dire* (negative)	2
être certain que	1	*douter*	1
être content que	1	*espérer*	4
faire sûr que	2	*être chanceux que*	1
il y a pas X que	3	*être content que*	3
il y a rien	2	*être étrange que*	1
être le seul x	7	*être fier que*	2
penser (negative)	6	*être important que*	1
trouver (negative)	2	*être rare que*	3
Total	**33**	*être sûr* (negative)	1
		être surpris que	1
		faire certain / sûr que	4
		faire du bien que	1
		il y a pas X que	2
		il y a rien / aucun que	3
		être le seul (X) que	21
		obliger	1
		sembler	1
		souhaiter	1
		other superlative	4
		supposons que	1
		trouver 'annoying' que	1
		trouver (negative)	2
		trouver drôle que	2
		trouver important que	1
		Total	**74**

Pembroke: Subjunctive-selecting verbal matrix constructions

Pembroke 1978	N	$\%_{SUBJ}$	Pembroke 2005	N	$\%_{SUBJ}$
aimer	5/7	71	*aimer*	2/5	40
avoir peur	1/1	100	*attendre*	1/1	100
être drôle	1/1	100	*être facile*	1/1	100
falloir	39/48	81	*falloir*	16/19	84
penser (negative)	2/16	13	*se pouvoir*	8/11	73
se pouvoir	2/3	67	*vouloir*	14/31	45
vouloir	7/9	78	**Total**	**42/68**	
Total	**57/86**				

Pembroke: Verbal matrix constructions that did not select the subjunctive

Pembroke 1978	N	Pembroke 2005	N
Ambiguous tokens	**84**	**Ambiguous tokens**	**74**
déranger	1	*avoir peur*	1
espérer	1	*c'est pas que*	3
être (negative) *certain*	1	*être* (negative) *seulement x*	1
être de valeur	1	*déranger*	1
être fier	2	*dire* (negative)	6
être rare	1	*être chanceux*	2
il y a une chance	1	*être content*	3
être le seul (x)	3	*être épeurant*	2
le meilleur x	1	*être fier*	3
trouver (negative)	1	*être juste*	1
Total	**13**	*être 'lucky'*	1
		être mieux	1
		être naturel	2
		être plate	2
		être bon	1
		être ridicule	1
		être surpris	2
		il y a rien / personne	3
		il y a moins de chances	2
		il y a pas x	2
		être le seul (x)	8
		penser (negative)	13
		other superlative	1
		Total	**62**

APPENDIX C: Distribution of non-verbal matrix constructions (1978 and 2005 corpora)

(see Appendix D for translations)

Hawkesbury: Subjunctive-selecting non-verbal matrix constructions

Hawkesbury	N	%SUBJ	Hawkesbury 2005	N	%SUBJ
à moins que	2/2	100	*en autant que*	1/4	25
avant que	3/3	100	*(pas) à ce que*	11/13	85
mais que	1/1	100	*à la place que*	1/1	100
pas que	1/1	100	*à moins que*	10/16	63
pour (pas) que	4/4	100	*après que*	6/10	60
que	2/2	100	*avant que*	9/12	75
Total	**13/13**		*jusqu'à tant que*	5/6	83
			le fait que	1/4	25
			mais que	7/7	100
			pas nécessairement que	1/1	100
			pas que	3/6	50
			pour (pas) que	41/44	93
			pourvu que	1/1	100
			que	5/5	100
			sans que	4/4	100
			Total	**106/134**	

Hawkesbury: Non-verbal matrix constructions that did not select the subjunctive

Hawkesbury	N	Hawkesbury 2005	N
Ambiguous tokens	**12**	**Ambiguous tokens**	**48**
après que	1	*le seul (x) qui / que*	4
le seul (x) qui / que	1	*malgré que*	1
malgré que	2	*soit que*	6
soit que	5	**Total**	**11**
Total	**9**		

Cornwall: Subjunctive-selecting non-verbal matrix constructions

Cornwall 1978	N	$\%_{SUBJ}$	Cornwall 2005	N	$\%_{SUBJ}$
à / au moins que	2/4	50	*à / au moins que*	3/21	14
jusqu'à ce que	2/3	67	*avant que*	1/18	6
jusqu'à tant que	1/3	33	*le fait que*	1/2	50
mais que	1/4	25	*mais que*	1/1	100
n'importe quel que	1/1	100	*pas que*	6/8	75
pas que	1/1	100	*pour (pas) que*	23/39	59
pour que	14/15	93	*pourvu que*	2/5	40
que (optative)	3/3	100	*que* (optative)	1/1	100
Total	**25/34**		**Total**	**37/95**	

Cornwall: Non-verbal matrix constructions that did not select the subjunctive

Cornwall 1978	N	Cornwall 2005	N
Ambiguous tokens	**32**	**Ambiguous tokens**	**57**
après que	3	*après que*	7
avant que	2	*au lieu que*	1
le seul (x) qui / que	2	*en autant que*	1
sans que	1	*jusqu'à ce que*	2
soit que	1	*jusqu'à tant que*	8
Total	**9**	*le seul (x) qui / que*	11
		malgré que	1
		soit que	3
		Total	**34**

North Bay: Subjunctive-selecting non-verbal matrix constructions

North Bay 1978	N	%$_{SUBJ}$	North Bay 2005	N	%$_{SUBJ}$
à/au moins que	2/3	67	*(pas) à ce que*	1/1	100
avant que	2/3	67	*à/au moins que*	4/14	24
jusqu'à ce que	1/1	100	*avant que*	3/12	25
pour (pas) que	9/11	82	*en autant que*	1/1	100
Total	**14/18**		*jusqu'à tant que*	2/6	33
			mais que	1/2	50
			pas que	8/17	47
			pour (pas) que	20/48	42
			que	1/2	50
			sans que	1/2	50
			Total	**42/107**	

North Bay: Non-verbal matrix constructions that did not select the subjunctive

North Bay 1978	N	North Bay 2005	N
Ambiguous tokens	**11**	**Ambiguous tokens**	**46**
après que	5	*après que*	3
jusqu'à tant que	1	*en cas que*	2
le seul (x) qui / que	2	*le fait que*	9
Total	**8**	*le seul (x) qui / que*	9
		le temps que	1
		les chances que	1
		malgré que	1
		soit que	2
		Total	**28**

Pembroke: Subjunctive-selecting non-verbal matrix constructions

Pembroke 1978	N	$\%_{SUBJ}$	Pembroke 2005	N	$\%_{SUBJ}$
à moins que	3/8	38	*avant que*	1/18	6
après que	2/7	29	*pas que*	3/11	38
avant que	1/3	33	*pour que*	4/18	22
jusqu'à tant que	1/3	33	*que* (optative)	2/2	100
mais que	1/1	100	**Total**	**10/49**	
pas que	1/2	50			
pour que	5/8	63			
Total	**14/32**				

Pembroke: Non-verbal matrix constructions that did not select the subjunctive

Pembroke 1978	N	Pembroke 2005	N
Ambiguous tokens	**11**	**Ambiguous tokens**	**20**
en autant que	1	*à moins que*	3
le fait que	1	*après que*	3
le seul (x) qui / que	7	*en autant que*	1
Total	**9**	*jusqu'à tant que*	4
		jusqu'au moment que	1
		le seul (x) qui / que	7
		Total	**19**

APPENDIX D: French–English glossary of verbal and non-verbal subjunctive-selecting matrix constructions

Verbal matrix constructions

à supposer que	assuming that
(ad)mettre ((ad)mettons que)	to admit, to suppose
aimer	to like
s'apercevoir (negative)	to not realize
arranger	to arrange for
arrêter	to stipulate
arriver	to arrive, to happen
attendre	to wait
s'attendre (*à ce*) *que*	to expect
autoriser	to authorize
avoir besoin que	to be necessary that
avoir de la peine que	to be chagrined that
avoir hâte que	to look forward to
avoir/ être peur que	to be afraid that
c'est dommage que	it's a pity that
ce n'est pas/ point que	it's not that, it's not because
ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise	God forbid
cela n'empêche pas que	this will not prevent that
consentir	to accept
considérer comme normal que	to consider normal that
contester	to contest
craindre	to fear
crier	to cry out (so that...)
croire	to believe
décider	to decide
décréter	to decree
défendre	to prohibit
demander	to demand
déranger	to bother
désespérer	to despair
désirer	to desire
dire	to say
disconvenir (negative)	to not disagree
se dissimuler (negative)	to not hide

douter (negative)	to not doubt
douter	to doubt
écrire	to write (so that...)
empêcher	to prevent
encourager	to encourage
en admettant que	admitting that
en attendant que	in anticipation of
en supposant que	supposing that
ennuyer	to bother
entendre	to agree
espérer	to hope
être bon que	to be good that
être/ y avoir des chances que	chances are, there is a chance that
être content que	to be happy that
être correct que	to be fine that
être dur que	to be difficult for
être fier que	to be proud that
être froissé que	to be offended that
être heureux que	to be happy that
être important que	to be important that
être impossible que	to be impossible that
être inutile que	to be pointless that
être juste que	to be fair that
être le meilleur X que	to be the best X that
être le plus X que	to be the X-est (e.g. greatest) that
être le seul X que	to be the only X that
être mieux que	to be better that
être normal que	to be expected that
être ravi que	to be delighted
être regrettable que	to be regrettable that
être un des plus X que	to be one of the X-est (e.g. greatest) that
être un des premiers X que	to be one of the first X that
être, *trouver, paraître* + adjective of opinion (*triste, plaisant, étrange, dommage, remarquable, admirable*, *merveilleux, incongru*) + *que*	to be, to find, to appear + adjective of opinion (sad, pleasing, strange, unfortunate, remarkable, admirable, marvellous, incongruous) + that
s'étonner	to be surprised
exiger	to insist
expliquer	to explain
faire (imperative)	to make it so that

faire attention que	to be sure that
faire (en sorte) que	to do in such a way that
faire signe que	to signal that
faire sûr	to make sure
falloir (*il faut que, etc.*)	must, to need to
il advient que	it turns out that
il convient que	it is appropriate that
il est dommage que	it's a pity that
il est douteux que	it is doubtful that
il est exclu que	it is impossible that
il est hors de doute	it is beyond dispute that
il est inadmissible que	it is unacceptable that
il est nécessaire que	it is necessary that
il est peu probable que	it is unlikely that
il est possible que	it is possible that
il importe que	it is important that
il n'empêche que	be that as it may
il n'est pas (il n'y a pas) jusqu'à X que	It is not only the X that
il n'est pas + adjective of certainty (*sûr, certain, vraisemblable, probable*) + *que*	it is not + adjective of certainty (sure, certain, likely, probable) + that
il n'est pas douteux que	it isn't doubtful that
il n'y a aucun doute que	there is absolutely no doubt that
il n'y a pas de doute que	there is no doubt that
il n'y a pas moyen que	there is no way that
il ne paraît pas douteux que	it does not appear doubtful that
il peut se faire que	it may be that
il semble que	it seems that
il suffit que	it suffices that
il survient que	it turns out that
inquiéter	to worry
interdire	to prohibit
je ne sache pas que	I am not aware that
n'avoir de repos/ répit/ paix/ cesse que	to remain steadfast until
nécessiter	to necessitate
nier	to deny
ordonner	to order
oublier	to forget
penser	to think
penser (negative)	to not think
permettre	to permit

se plaindre	to complain
se pouvoir (*ça se peut que*)	to be possible (it's possible that)
prendre garde que	to be careful that
prétendre	to claim
regretter	to regret
se réjouir	to rejoice
savoir	to know
sembler (interrogative)	to seem (interrogative)
souhaiter	to wish
suggérer	to suggest
téléphoner	to call (so that...)
tenir à ce que	to want
trouver fâcheux que	to find bothersome that
veilleur (à ce) que	to ensure
verb + *à ce que*	see Grevisse & Goosse (2008: §1123 b, §1126 c 1˚, §1127 b 4˚, 5˚)
verb + *de ce que*	see Grevisse & Goosse (2008: §1123c, §1123 b 2˚, §1124e)
voir	to see to it
vouloir	to want

Non-verbal matrix construction

(*à ce*) *que je sache*	that I know, to my knowledge
(au)paravant que	beforehand
(pour, en) autant que	provided that
à (*la*) *condition que*	on condition that
à cette fin que	for this purpose that
à la seule fin que	to the sole end that
à moins que	unless
à preuve que	to the point that
afin que	so that, in order that
après que	after
au lieu que	instead
avant que	before
avant que	before
bien que	although
comment que	however
d'ici à ce que	Until such time
de crainte/ peur que	for fear that, fearing that

de façon (*à ce*) *que*	in such a way that
de manière (*à ce*) *que*	in such a way that
de peur/ crainte que	for fear that
de sorte (*à ce*) *que*	in such a way that
devant que	before
dommage que	pity that
en dépit que	despite that
encore que	although
faute que	due to a lack that
gare que	beware
jusqu'à ce que	until
jusqu'à tant que	until
l'étonnement que	the surprise that
l'idée que, la pensée que	the idea that, the thought that
le (*seul, dernier, meilleur*) *que*	the (only, last, best) that
le malheur est que	the misfortune is that
ma crainte est que	my fear is that
mais que	when
malgré que	despite
moyennant que	provided that
non (*pas, point*) *que*	not that, not because
non que	not that, not because
nul doute que	no doubt that
où que	wherever
par crainte/ peur que	for fear that, fearing that
pas que	not that
plus (moins, si, aussi, autant)... que	more (less, so, as, as much)... that
pour + adjective + *que*	however + adjective + that
pour pas que (informal)	in order that X does not...
pour peu que	provided that
pour que	so that, in order that
pourvu que	provided that
premier que	before
quel dommage que	what a pity that
quel que	whichever
quelque + noun + *que*	whatever + noun + that
quelque... que	however... that
qui que	whomever
quoi que	whatever

quoique	although
regretter	to regret
sans que	without
si tant est que	in so far as
si/ aussi/ quelque + adjective + *que*	no matter how + adjective + that
si/ tant/ tel/ tellement X que	so (much) X that
sous (*la*) *condition que*	on condition that
supposé que	assuming that
tant que	as long as, until

APPENDIX E: Distribution of expressions of necessity (1978 and 2005 corpora)

1978 student corpus

	Restricted		Semi-restricted		Unrestricted		Total	
Hawkesbury	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	n/a	n/a	0	0	44	53	44	53
falloir + INF	n/a	n/a	0	0	27	32.5	27	32.5
pers. *falloir*	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
devoir	n/a	n/a	0	0	9	11	9	11
avoir besoin de	n/a	n/a	0	0	1	1	1	1
être obligé de	n/a	n/a	0	0	2	2.5	2	2.5
avoir à	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	n/a	n/a	0	0	83	100	83	100
Cornwall	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	19	33	55	80	23	64	97	60
falloir + INF	17	30	4	6	3	8	24	15
pers. *falloir*	12	21	2	3	0	0	14	8.5
devoir	2	3.5	5	7	0	0	7	4
avoir besoin de	6	10.5	0	0	2	5.5	8	5
être obligé de	0	0	2	3	6	17	8	5
avoir à	1	2	1	1	2	5.5	4	2.5
Total	57	100	69	100	36	100	162	100
North Bay	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	7	64	60	80	14	67	81	75.5
falloir + INF	2	18	12	16	4	19	18	16.5
pers. *falloir*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
devoir	2	18	1	1.3	0	0	3	3
avoir besoin de	0	0	1	1.3	0	0	1	1
être obligé de	0	0	0	0	2	9.5	2	2
avoir à	0	0	1	1.3	1	4.5	2	2
Total	11	100	75	100	21	100	107	100
Pembroke	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	23	46	40	58	25	89	88	60
falloir + INF	21	42	17	24.5	2	7	40	27
pers. *falloir*	1	2	2	3	0	0	3	2
devoir	2	4	4	6	0	0	6	4
avoir besoin de	3	6	1	1.5	1	4	5	3.5
être obligé de	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	1.5
avoir à	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	2
Total	50	100	69	100	28	100	147	100

2005 student corpus

	Restricted		Semi-restricted		Unrestricted		Total	
Hawkesbury	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	n/a	n/a	148	75	360	71	508	72
falloir + INF	n/a	n/a	30	15	80	16	110	16
pers. *falloir*	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
devoir	n/a	n/a	9	4.5	3	.5	12	1.5
avoir besoin de	n/a	n/a	5	2.5	12	2.5	17	2.5
être obligé de	n/a	n/a	5	2.5	40	8	45	6.5
avoir à	n/a	n/a	1	.5	9	2	10	1.5
Total	n/a	n/a	198	100	504	100	702	100
Cornwall	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	124	58.5	112	69	61	84	297	66
falloir + INF	32	15	17	10.5	9	12	58	13
pers. *falloir*	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	.5
devoir	28	13	22	14	1	1	51	11.5
avoir besoin de	25	12	9	5.5	0	0	34	8
être obligé de	0	0	0	0	2	3	2	.5
avoir à	1	.5	2	1	0	0	3	.5
Total	212	100	162	100	73	100	447	100
North Bay	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	44	20.5	77	62.5	18	82	139	39
falloir + INF	24	11	15	12	4	18	43	12
pers. *falloir*	16	7.5	0	0	0	0	16	4.5
devoir	111	51.5	23	18.5	0	0	134	37
avoir besoin de	18	8.5	6	5	0	0	24	6.5
être obligé de	1	.5	1	1	0	0	2	.5
avoir à	1	.5	1	1	0	0	2	.5
Total	215	100	123	100	22	100	360	100
Pembroke	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	37	14	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	37	14
falloir + INF	16	6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	16	6
pers. *falloir*	34	12.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	34	12.5
devoir	141	53	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	141	53
avoir besoin de	35	13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	35	13
être obligé de	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0
avoir à	4	1.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	1.5
Total	267	100	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	267	100

2005 teacher sub-corpus

	Hawkesbury		Cornwall		North Bay		Pembroke		Total	
	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data	N	% data
falloir + que	101	38	106	38	159	37.5	109	33	475	36
falloir + INF	72	27	51	18	18	4	65	19.5	206	16
pers. *falloir*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
devoir	80	30	102	36.5	204	48.5	121	36.5	507	39
avoir besoin de	1	.5	6	2	15	3.5	2	.5	24	2
être obligé de	4	1.5	2	.5	7	1.5	4	1	17	1.5
avoir à	8	3	13	5	20	5	32	9.5	73	5.5
Total	266	100	280	100	423	100	333	100	1302	100

APPENDIX F: Inventory of excluded data: periphrastic future and inflected future (1978 and 2005 corpora)

1978 student corpus

Hawkesbury	Periphrastic future	Inflected future
	N	N
habitual actions	affirmative: 195	17
	negative: 2	
aller as a verb of motion	4	0
ambiguous tokens	1	0
corrected tokens	3	1
anticipatory descriptive actions	5	0
fixed expressions	12	1
hypothetical statements	41	3
metalinguistic commentary	0	0
pseudo-imperatives	0	0
incomplete utterances	6	1
interviewer priming	0	0
protasis clauses	3	n/a
repeated tokens	0	0
reported speech	3	1
Total	275	24

Cornwall	Periphrastic future	Inflected future
	N	N
habitual actions	affirmative: 244	4
	negative: 8	
aller as a verb of motion	0	0
ambiguous tokens	4	0
corrected tokens	29	5
anticipatory descriptive actions	33	1
fixed expressions	18	0
hypothetical statements	52	9
metalinguistic commentary	0	0
pseudo-imperatives	0	1
incomplete utterances	3	0
interviewer priming	6	0
protasis clauses	3	n/a
repeated tokens	0	0
reported speech	21	1
Total	421	21

North Bay	Periphrastic future	Inflected future
	N	N
habitual actions	affirmative: 122	3
	negative: 3	
aller as a verb of motion	0	0
ambiguous tokens	2	2
corrected tokens	6	1
anticipatory descriptive actions	20	1
fixed expressions	8	0
hypothetical statements	17	0
metalinguistic commentary	2	1
pseudo-imperatives	0	0
incomplete utterances	5	0
interviewer priming	0	0
protasis clauses	2	n/a
repeated tokens	0	0
reported speech	8	1
Total	195	9

Pembroke	Periphrastic future	Inflected future
	N	N
habitual actions	affirmative: 152	7
	negative: 2	
aller as a verb of motion	0	0
ambiguous tokens	1	0
corrected tokens	15	3
anticipatory descriptive actions	14	0
fixed expressions	9	0
hypothetical statements	15	4
metalinguistic commentary	0	0
pseudo-imperatives	0	0
incomplete utterances	1	2
interviewer priming	1	0
protasis clauses	0	n/a
repeated tokens	0	1
reported speech	23	1
Total	233	18

2005 student corpus

Hawkesbury	Periphrastic future	Inflected future
	N	N
habitual actions	affirmative: 1067	36
	negative: 44	
aller as a verb of motion	25	0
ambiguous tokens	33	5
corrected tokens	34	1
anticipatory descriptive actions	79	2
fixed expressions	43	0
hypothetical statements	181	8
metalinguistic commentary	0	0
pseudo-imperatives	4	4
incomplete utterances	35	2
interviewer priming	11	2
protasis clauses	14	n/a
repeated tokens	15	0
reported speech	46	1
Total	1631	61

Cornwall & North Bay	Periphrastic future	Inflected future
	N	N
habitual actions	affirmative: 1493	13
	negative: 106	
aller as a verb of motion	1	0
ambiguous tokens	44	6
corrected tokens	52	1
anticipatory descriptive actions	47	1
fixed expressions	33	2
hypothetical statements	169	5
metalinguistic commentary	2	0
pseudo-imperatives	2	2
incomplete utterances	30	0
interviewer priming	6	2
protasis clauses	12	n/a
repeated tokens	7	0
reported speech	45	2
Total	2049	34

Pembroke	Periphrastic future	Inflected future
	N	N
habitual actions	affirmative: 216	1
	negative: 10	
aller as a verb of motion	5	0
ambiguous tokens	11	1
corrected tokens	15	2
anticipatory descriptive actions	24	2
fixed expressions	5	0
hypothetical statements	55	3
metalinguistic commentary	1	0
pseudo-imperatives	0	0
incomplete utterances	2	0
interviewer priming	0	0
protasis clauses	2	n/a
repeated tokens	1	0
reported speech	20	1
Total	367	10

APPENDIX G: Distribution of the periphrastic future and inflected future according to social factors (1978 and 2005 corpora)

1978 student corpus

	Restricted		Semi-restricted		Unrestricted	
	N	% PF	N	% PF	N	% PF
Social class						
Middle	23/35	66	46/57	81	46/56	82
Lower-middle	140/154	91	180/202	89	89/100	89
Working	56/65	86	158/171	92	106/116	91
Sex						
Female	86/101	85	236/255	93	98/114	86
Male	133/153	87	148/175	85	143/158	91

2005 student corpus

	Restricted		Semi-restricted		Unrestricted	
Hawkesbury	N	% PF	N	% PF	N	% PF
Social class						
Middle	n/a	n/a	71/83	86	199/213	93
Lower-middle	n/a	n/a	75/95	79	215/246	87
Working	n/a	n/a	29/32	91	186/222	84
Sex						
Female	n/a	n/a	103/126	82	258/298	87
Male	n/a	n/a	72/84	86	342/383	89
Cornwall & N. Bay	N	% PF	N	% PF	N	% PF
Social class						
Middle	179/192	93	84/94	89	70/76	92
Lower-middle	260/268	97	110/116	95	15/17	88
Working	75/79	95	88/91	97	11/13	85
Sex						
Female	235/249	94	188/199	94	36/42	86
Male	279/290	96	94/102	92	60/64	94
Pembroke	N	% PF	N	% PF	N	% PF
Social class						
Middle	60/67	90	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Lower-middle	198/216	92	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Working	68/69	99	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Sex						
Female	158/168	94	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Male	168/184	91	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

APPENDIX H: Revised variable rule analyses of the contribution of linguistic factors to the probability that the periphrastic future, inflected future and futurate present will be selected (verbs showing three-way variation only)

Hawkesbury 2005 sub-corpus

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Present future		
Polarity	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Affirmative	.**60**	406/542	75	.35	6/542	1	n/a	130/542	24
Negative	.02	8/58	14	.99	50/58	86	K.O.	0/58	0
range	*58*			*64*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.27	96/204	47	[.54]	13/204	6	.**74**	95/204	47
Non-Specific	.58	35/48	73	[.57]	6/48	13	.41	7/48	15
Absent	.**64**	283/348	81	[.47]	37/348	11	.37	28/348	8
range	*37*						*37*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	.40	5/11	45	K.O.	0/11	0	.**62**	6/11	55
Distal	.50	231/379	61	n/a	24/379	6	.50	124/379	33
range	*10*						*8*		
	Total N: 414/600			Total N: 56/600			Total N: 130/600		
	Input: .65			Input: .02			Input: .24		
	Significance: .000			Significance: .000			Significance: .000		
	Log likelihood: -266.40			Log likelihood: -56.26			Log likelihood: -237.39		

Pembroke 2005 sub-corpus

	Periphrastic future			Inflected future			Present future		
Polarity	FW	N	%	FW	N	%	FW	N	%
Affirmative	[.50]	186/263	71	.47	12/263	5	[.53]	65/263	25
Negative	[.46]	18/23	78	.**80**	4/23	17	[.20]	1/23	4
range				*33*					
Adv. spec.									
Specific	.27	69/131	46	[.44]	5/131	4	.**77**	57/131	44
Non-Specific	.53	17/22	77	[.40]	1/22	5	.53	4/22	18
Absent	.**72**	118/133	89	[.57]	10/133	8	.23	5/133	4
range	*45*						*54*		
Temp. distance									
Proximal	[.63]	10/15	67	K.O.	0/15	0	.40	5/15	33
Distal	[.49]	98/165	59	n/a	8/165	5	.**51**	59/165	36
range							*9*		
	Total N: 204/286			Total N: 16/286			Total N: 66/286		
	Input: .75			Input: .05			Input: .19		
	Significance: .000			Significance: .036			Significance: .044		
	Log likelihood: -149.26			Log likelihood: -59.40			Log likelihood: -119.36		